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New Round of Nuclear Nonproliferation Talks

Secretary Shultz Cited

LD1312071388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2120 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Washington, 13 Dec (TASS)—The twelfth round of Soviet-U.S. consultations on problems of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons began here on Monday. The Soviet delegation is headed by Boris Semenov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Atomic Energy, and the U.S. delegation by Ambassador-at-large Richard Kennedy. U.S. State Department spokesman Charles Redman reported that the Soviet delegation was today welcomed by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. "The secretary of state began by expressing condolences to the Soviet people over the huge tragedy which had struck Armenia", C. Redman said. "He then noted the importance of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and highly assessed the continuing cooperation between the United States and the USSR in strengthening the regime of nonproliferation." In particular, the State Department spokesman said, G. Shultz noted the efforts aimed at strengthening the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, the measures being taken to strengthen security in the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), improvements in monitoring the export of nuclear technology, and solving problems "which give rise to anxiety on a regional level."

Problem 'Especially Acute'

LD1312204388 Moscow TASS in English 2000 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev: The 12th round of Soviet-American consultations on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons opened in Washington on December 12.

During the talks the sides will consider the entire range of problems related to strengthening the regime of the treaty of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, under which over 130 states, signatories of this agreement, committed not to transfer this weapon or other nuclear explosive devices to anyone, and states which do not possess nuclear weapons undertook not to produce and not to acquire such means of warfare.

In their joint statement at the summit meeting in Moscow Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan are known to have spoken highly of the non-proliferation treaty, and confirmed their belief that joining of the treaty by all states of the world would raise a chance to achieve progress in reducing nuclear armaments and scale down the threat of a nuclear war.

It is not fortuitous that the leaders of the two countries pay attention to the problem of non-proliferation. It has grown especially acute lately. An increasingly larger number of states, which have the scientific and technical capacity to develop their own nuclear weapons, seek membership in the "nuclear club". Among them are the Republic of South Africa, Israel, and Pakistan. But once nuclear weapons are deployed in these countries, the military-political situation in Africa, in the Near and Middle East would be sharply destabilized and the menace of a world nuclear war would be enhanced. The agenda of the consultations will evidently feature specific regional problems of non-proliferation, which are the cause of concern for the sides, and also measures to enhance the role and authority of the international atomic energy agency.

The fourth conference to review the fulfillment of the provisions of the non-proliferation treaty will take place in Geneva in 1990. The Soviet side attaches particular importance to preparations for this forum and will present its proposals on this issue.

The non-proliferation treaty is not an isolated agreement which is separated from other agreements and negotiations on disarmament. The treaty of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons itself commits each state which signed it to conduct in the spirit of good will talks on effective measures to stop the nuclear arms race, and also on concluding a treaty on universal and total disarmament with stringent and effective verification.

The non-proliferation treaty has had a positive impact on the entire process of arms control. In its turn, the solution of such important problems of international security, as banning globally and totally nuclear weapon tests, reducing strategic offensive armaments by 50 per cent provided that the treaty on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems is honoured, and eliminating chemical weapons will undoubtedly strengthen the non-proliferation regime.

In the Soviet Union they express the hope that the consultations in Washington will promote mutual understanding between the two countries on all issues under discussion. This will ensure good pre-conditions for a successful holding of the conference to review the non-proliferation treaty in Geneva as well as promote progress at other Soviet-American arms control negotiations.

'Reasonable Sufficiency' Principle Defended

PM1112183988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

["Military-Political Review" by observer M. Ponomarev: "Realism of Ideas, Boldness of Approaches"]

[Text] Mankind is agonizingly seeking the answer to the fundamental question of how to establish a world order which will satisfy people's age-old striving for happiness and a peaceful, secure, reasonable life. Or, in other words, how to put an end to the era of wars, confrontation, and regional conflicts, to aggression against nature, to the terror of hunger and poverty, and to political terrorism. The search for ways to resolve these problems is directly linked with the new realities determining the

modern world's appearance. An impressive in-depth analysis of these realities was made in M.S. Gorbachev's speech from the lofty UN rostrum.

Why was the United Nations chosen as the place to expound the Soviet Union's conceptual approach to the global problems which mankind is encountering toward the end of the 20th century? Why was the USSR's approach to resolving the very acute problems of the present—an approach based on the new political thinking—and its far-reaching new initiatives, proclaimed precisely from the UN rostrum? The point is that the United Nations is a unique international center in the service of peace and security and it encapsulates the collective reason and will of mankind. The recent activation of its peacemaking role has once again demonstrated the ability of the United Nations to cope with the formidable challenges of the time and to travel the path of the demilitarization and humanization of international relations.

M.S. Gorbachev's speech had been awaited. Even before his arrival in New York very different views on the contents of his upcoming speech and the initiatives which would be advanced had been expressed in the pages of the world press. And, as a rule, the major significance of the new Soviet ideas for world politics had been predicted. Well, those expectations were realized. Moreover, the reality surpassed the most optimistic forecasts. And not only in terms of the profundity and the truly innovative nature of the analysis of present-day problems, although this alone would have been sufficient.

They, these expectations, were realized because ways to the future were indicated. Ways outlined with sober regard for the global challenges facing mankind and, above all, the problem of survival. Survival in all senses of this word—military, economic, social, ecological. And here this conclusion was heard with special force: There is no getting away from the requirement to find a balance of interests within an international framework—a requirement which has become a condition of both survival and progress.

The Soviet Union not only offers the world community ways to the future, but also formulates universal principles of international relations. A special place among them is held by the principle of total exclusion of the use of outside force, recognition of the people's right to freedom of choice, and the deideologizing international life. Yes, difficult problems have to be resolved on the basis of these principles. But they can and must be resolved. Without this it is impossible to arrange mutually advantageous and equitable cooperation among the peoples, control the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution in a rational manner, protect the environment, overcome underdevelopment, or eliminate the nuclear threat and militarism.

All these problems are extremely important. But the last one is of special significance. No problems of the coming century can be resolved without disarmament. This is the chief, most important point.

The Soviet Union calls for a shift to be made away from the principle of superarmament to the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense. This is already starting to happen before our very eyes and becoming a new historical reality. The facts relating to this are well-known. It is sufficient to mention the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles—the destruction in practice of part of the nuclear arsenals of the USSR and the United States.

The Soviet leader's UN speech set forth the Soviet decisions regarding further progress along this path. The British newspaper THE POST emphasized that by any standards the plan for arms cuts proposed by the Soviet Union "is of a truly historic nature." And the Japanese NHK TV Company states: "We are witnessing the first glimmers of the shaping of a new model for ensuring international security—not with the help of an arms buildup, as was almost always the case, but via the reverse, reducing arms on a compromise basis."

What is the essence of the decisions adopted by the Soviet Union?

The numerical strength of the USSR Armed Forces will be reduced by 500,000 men over the next 2 years. And these reductions will be carried out unilaterally, unconnected with the upcoming talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. Six Soviet tank divisions will be withdrawn from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary—by agreement with the allied Warsaw Pact countries—and these divisions will be disbanded. In addition, landing and assault and a number of other formations and units will be withdrawn from the territory of those countries, including landing and river crossing ones with their armament and combat hardware. The Soviet troops stationed in the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary will be reduced by 50,000 men, and their armament by 5,000 tanks. All the Soviet divisions remaining on the territory of our allies will be given a new structure, which is to be unambiguously defensive.

The personnel strength and number of arms in the European part of the USSR will be reduced at the same time. Here, as well as on the territory of our Warsaw Pact allies, the Soviet Armed Forces will, in all, be reduced by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat aircraft. The grouping of the USSR Armed Forces in the Asian part of the country will also be substantially reduced, and a considerable part of the Soviet troops temporarily stationed on the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic will be returned to the motherland.

These decisions were adopted on the basis of the Soviet Union's principled approach and its new political thinking, which maintains that military means are obsolete

and that any military presence must have national borders. Our practical steps in the sphere of military building are in line with these principles. These include the measures announced in New York.

Western politicians and military figures have repeatedly said recently that they would welcome a new defensive Soviet military doctrine. But no practical steps to realize it could be seen, apart from talk of its defensive nature. C. Powell, assistant to the U.S. President for national security affairs, spoke about this, in particular, in detail quite recently when setting forth U.S. policy in the sphere of national security. At the same time he tried to refute the idea which is spreading increasingly widely in Western public circles that the allegations of a "Soviet military threat" are obsolete (thus, according to the data of a poll just conducted in the FRG, 75 percent of the country's population no longer believes in the existence of such a "threat"). Apologists for the "position of strength" policy have repeatedly been told: Don't be in a hurry but be patient, for serious questions must not be resolved in an offhand way. The "trumps" have now been knocked from their hands.

M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with current U.S. President R. Reagan and President-elect G. Bush showed how the dialogue should be conducted on the most complex and acute problems of the present day. The key word which determined the whole thrust of this dialogue was the word "continuity."

A very great deal depends on the nature of Soviet-U.S. relations—both on a bilateral plane and for the peoples of the entire world. Therefore, the Soviet Union considers it important to continue developing mutual understanding and the maintenance of stability and predictability in these relations. To judge from reports coming across the ocean nowadays, the U.S. leaders adhere to the same viewpoint. G. Bush has repeatedly voiced hope for further progress in the sphere of Soviet-U.S. relations, including arms control and regional problems. On returning to Washington after the meeting on Governors Island, G. Bush told journalists: "I clearly told the general secretary that I want to develop the progress made by the Reagan administration."

Yes, even a few years ago no one could have imagined how far Soviet-U.S. relations might advance. Of course, the profound contradictions between our countries have not disappeared and continue to poison the atmosphere. But you have only to recall that treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the consistent progress toward a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, and other events of various kinds, and an impressive picture begins to take shape. Both our relations and the entire world have changed. R. Reagan uttered interesting words about this in his recent radio address: "I must admit that when I had just taken up the Presidency, I never thought that one day I would be nostalgic about my meetings with Soviet leaders."

Not everything that was proposed for the Soviet leader's stay in New York could be done. Owing to the tragedy in Armenia, it was necessary to cut short his stay on U.S. soil and postpone his planned visits to Cuba and Britain. The international response to the earthquake in Armenia and the international solidarity with and aid for the victims clearly highlighted the interconnected and integral nature of the modern world. The misfortune of some becomes the misfortune of all. Soviet people are sincerely grateful to the peoples and governments of all countries for their sympathy and support.

But far from everything runs smoothly in our world. And this is sometimes reflected in the U.S. press. Thus THE BOSTON GLOBE wrote recently: "Even the most flexible of our political leaders might be finding it hard to rid themselves of the firmly rooted habit of considering the 'cold war' the basic framework within which policy is shaped." Let us turn, for example, to the NATO Council session which has just ended. It was reported that the ministers of the bloc's member countries unanimously welcomed the Soviet initiatives on a unilateral reduction of armed forces and arms. Only they discussed not reciprocal steps, but...how to demand still greater concessions of the USSR. Incidentally, such an approach has recently become characteristic of a number of Western politicians. In a recent article the not unknown H. Kissinger ardently welcomed the Soviet idea of a "common European home." But, in his opinion, the eastern wall of this house must certainly not run along the Urals but along the USSR's western border. Thus, the Soviet Union is excluded from those who will inhabit this "home," while the socialist countries of East Europe are allocated the unenviable role of tenants in the detached residence which will be ruled over by gentlemen from NATO and the WEU.

The Soviet Union is not inclined to oversimplify the situation in the world. It is still fraught with many misfortunes and dangers. Under these conditions the question might arise: Will the large-scale reduction in the Soviet Armed Forces not affect our country's security? It is possible to claim with confidence: No, it will not. For we will maintain our defense capability at the level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency, so that no one is tempted to encroach upon the USSR and its allies.

Bloc States Support Cuts in Soviet Forces

PM1012200088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[Roundup of PRAVDA own correspondent and TASS reports dated 9 December: "Strong Boost to Disarmament Process"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Berlin—The GDR wholly and fully supports the far-reaching new proposals and initiatives advanced by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations, E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, declared. These proposals, he said, are aimed at

continuing and deepening the process taking place in the world via specific new steps. The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states are once again taking a step forward in the interests of ensuring international security and strengthening peace.

Prague—The CSSR Government fully supports the large-scale new initiatives advanced by M.S. Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly session and aimed at improving the international situation, M. Pavel, chief of the CSSR Presidium Press Department, declared. The Soviet proposals to withdraw six tank divisions from the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary by 1991; to reform the Soviet military subunits stationed in these countries; and to impart to them an unequivocally defensive nature will undoubtedly promote the further lessening of tension in Europe.

Warsaw—Poland has greeted with tremendous interest and approval the bold and far-reaching decisions and proposals advanced at the United Nations by M.S. Gorbachev on problems of peace, security, disarmament, and international cooperation, Polish Foreign Minister T. Olechowski declared. These initiatives, particularly in the disarmament sphere, will make a substantial contribution to the process of reducing military confrontation on the continent, including in central Europe—a territory on which the "Jaruzelski plan" has a bearing. This is of decisive significance for our country's security, the minister pointed out. I am deeply convinced that the Soviet proposals will give a strong boost to the Vienna talks on reducing conventional armed forces and arms in Europe. Poland attaches special significance to the proposal on advancing further the multilateral dialogue on ways to settle the debt crisis, including within the framework of consultations under UN auspices.

Beijing—China welcomes the USSR's new peace initiatives contained in M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech, a PRC Foreign Ministry official spokesman declared. The USSR's decision on a unilateral reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces in East European countries and on the withdrawal from Mongolia of a considerable part of the Soviet troops stationed there is a positive development which we welcome. [passage omitted]

Soviet Colonel Comments on Tank Reductions

LD1012140488 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Colonel Eduard Asaturov commentary]

[Text] How many tanks are to be reduced by the Soviet Union? Here is an answer from our military affairs observer, Colonel Eduard Asaturov.

[Begin Asaturov recording in Russian fading into English translation] The unilateral tank reduction announced by the Soviet Union in the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary is by 5,000 units, and as many units in the European part of the USSR—that is a total of 10,000 tanks. There has been a positive response to this important decision around the world. But the leading military and political quarters in NATO give a different kind of view. They claim that this is too few. Is the number really large or small?

That depends on the approach to it. It may indeed be a few considering the number of tanks to remain in Europe, and not just for the Soviet Union but also for NATO. There will be 60,000 tanks remaining. For this reason it's necessary to look for ways to reduce the number on a bilateral basis. I don't argue the fact that even after the announced reduction the Warsaw Treaty Organization will have a slight supremacy in tanks, but I can say for certain that mostly tanks of obsolete models will account for the supremacy. As for the qualitative superiority, it will remain in favour of NATO, taking into account the more than 11,000 modern West German Leopards and American M-1's. There are much fewer similar Soviet tanks of the T-72 and T-80 models.

And let's look at it from another angle. The 5,000 tanks that we are to pull out from the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, from the borders with NATO countries, is equal to the number of tanks in the American troops [phrase as heard] stationed in Western Europe.

Finally, I can make a reminder that the decision on the major reduction of its armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, including tanks, was unilateral for the Soviet Union. We wish that there should be a response to this important move so as to have reductions in the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. [end recording]

U.S. Officers Cited on Missile Elimination

PM0912102788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[I. Ignatyev article: "Arguments For Trust. Interview With U.S. Colonel on Elimination of Missiles"]

[Text] Washington—The scene was quite out of the ordinary: Soviet and U.S. journalists jointly interviewing a USAF colonel for Independent News Network TV. The unusual nature of the situation was intensified by the fact that this all took place in the officer's club at the Redstone Arsenal in Alabama, where the U.S. Army missile command headquarters is located, a TASS correspondent in Washington told SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

Our interlocutor Robert McConnell has 30 years of service in the U.S. Armed Forces behind him. He flew various aircraft, including U-2 reconnaissance aircraft and B-52 strategic bombers, then worked as a military attache in Moscow, and is now the head of a department of the Pentagon's on-site inspection agency that was set up this year. All U.S. inspectors monitoring observance of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and

Shorter-Range Missiles, and groups accompanying Soviet officers coming to the United States for the same purpose are directly subordinate to him.

"Colonel," a U.S. colleague began the conversation, "during the years that you served on B-52 strategic bombers with nuclear bombs on board did you think that there would come a time when you would personally take part in the practical implementation of the first agreement on the destruction of nuclear weapons?"

"At that time hardly anyone could have imagined it," R. McConnell shook his gray head in response. "It's thrilling."

"In your opinion," it was my turn, "will such on-site inspections help the confidence-building process between the two countries?"

"Of course. For, apart from anything else, these inspections are exchanges between career servicemen. During their trips to the United States your inspectors will see for themselves the equipment that we have at our disposal and will find out what sort of specialists we are in the military sphere. Moreover, this will take place in areas where until recently it was thought that your people would never be able to go."

Under the terms of the treaty each side can inspect any facility listed therein with 16 hours advance notification. It is not only military men that are involved in the work to fulfill the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

When you go round the seventh story of the U.S. State Department where the leader of the U.S. diplomatic department has his working office you cannot fail to notice this corridor-wide plaque. It bears the following inscription in white letters on a black background: "Nuclear Risk Reduction Center." Next to it there is an outwardly normal door that is in no way different from its neighbors. However, this impression is deceptive. It is reinforced with strong steel plating from inside. There is a small lobby behind it and then another door with an electronic lock. Only after all these precautions can you enter the actual site of the center.

"Our center was opened," its leader David Schwartz said, "March 22 this year and practical use was soon made of it. All the information linked with implementation of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles—notification of inspections, lists of incoming or outgoing inspectors and the aircraft crews that deliver them to the fixed points, reports on shipments of missiles destined for destruction and much, much more—are sent via our center and a comparable Soviet center."

Four CRT's are mounted in the U.S. center (two are for reception, one is for transmission, the other is a spare) and several printers. There are clocks on the wall indicating the time in Moscow and Washington, and GMT. A duty diplomat who speaks Russian and an operator are always there. The center is on duty around-the-clock. The center's equipment makes it possible to transmit the requisite information to Moscow virtually instantaneously.

Transmitting information stipulated by USSR-U.S. intergovernmental agreements on measures to lessen the danger of outbreak of nuclear war and on the prevention of incidents on the open seas and in the air above is another important aspect of the center's activity apart from exchanging information under the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

"The creation and work of these centers can be described as a step aimed at strengthening mutual trust between the sides. We are delighted by the exchange of information linked with the fulfillment of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles," David Schwartz said in conclusion.

Medvedev on Verifying Missile Destruction

AU0912151688 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 8 Dec 88 p 1

[Report on interview with Major General Vladimir Medvedev, chief of the Soviet Nuclear Risk Reduction Center, by NOVOSTI representative Vasil Morozov in Moscow, "especially for OTECHESTVEN FRONT": "The Missiles Are on Their Way to the Remelting Furnaces"—date not given]

[Text] On 8 December, 1 year had elapsed since the signing of the Soviet-American INF Treaty. Many people in both the East and West are naturally asking: How is implementation of the treaty taking place in practice? Is the process of destroying Soviet and American missiles proceeding according to plan?

With these questions, I approached Major General Vladimir Medvedev, chief of the Soviet Nuclear Risk Reduction Center, which is located in one of the buildings of the USSR Defense Ministry in Moscow.

This center, like its American counterpart in Washington, was charged with carrying out a wide range of tasks connected with the implementation of the treaty. What do these tasks comprise? First, the handover of initial data on the numbers of weapons covered by the agreement and their location. Second, notification of inspections of the destruction of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in practice.

General Medvedev emphasized that the practical work of the two centers in implementing the functions of verifying the fulfillment of the treaty obligations of the United States and the USSR during the past 6 months has been carried out in two phases.

The first phase lasted 2 months (July and August), when the two sides monitored the correctness of the previously declared initial data. During this period the Soviet side carried out 32 inspections of all sites within the United States and in countries where the missiles are located—the FRG, Italy, Great Britain, and others. The American side conducted 117 inspections of all sites on the territory of the USSR, and also in the GDR and CSSR.

The leader of the Soviet center stressed that this stage of work had proceeded normally. The two sides confirmed the correctness of the initial data.

Following this monitoring, the second phase began, and is still continuing at present. The sides are making inspections directly connected with the process of destroying the nuclear missiles. This process, the general reminded me, began immediately following the monitoring of the initial data. On the territory of the USSR there are eight sites for destruction of the missiles, while on U.S. territory there are five. The United States has carried out 165 inspections, while the USSR has completed 40.

Up to the present, the Soviet side has destroyed about 400 intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and about 150 launching installations, and the American side has destroyed about 100 missiles. Together the USSR and the United States have destroyed about 20 percent of the total number of missiles that have to be destroyed under the treaty.

The two sides still have to destroy about 2,700 deployed and undeployed missiles, and about 1,200 launching installations.

Despite the fact that the treaty for eliminating the "Euromissiles" provides for the destruction of only 4 percent of all the nuclear arsenals that have accumulated in the world, the treaty has not only an immense political importance, but also a certain economic effect.

In the course of drawing up the treaty, the Soviet side succeeded in ensuring that the interests of the national economy were taken into account, in obtaining permission for individual parts of the missiles and launchers to be utilized for civil purposes. The total value of the components of the missile weapons that do not have to be destroyed amounts to R150 million for the USSR alone.

The American side is also gaining economic benefit from the implementation of the treaty. Immediately following the signing of the treaty, Congress canceled the previously planned credits for the construction of new launching installations for intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in a number of Western European countries. These measures enabled the United States to save budgetary means to the value of $111 million.

Woerner Urges Conventional Arms Ceilings
LD1012235288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner by reporter Kipras Mazheyka; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Mazheyka] NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner is giving an interview for the Vremya program.

[Woerner in English fading into Russian translation] I believe that this progress inspires optimism and is a very important step in the right direction. We warmly welcome the statement by General Secretary Gorbachev. However, we think that it is now important to begin talks in Vienna, bearing in mind a reduction in conventional armaments. We must attempt to reach an agreement on mutually agreed and balanced reductions. We must reach agreement on limits and equal ceilings for both sides in conventional armaments so that neither side has the possibility of carrying out an attack on the other. The North Atlantic bloc and the Warsaw Pact Organization must possess weapons which will ensure only their defense. You are on the right course and it would be desirable if you continued it. Let us start to work out an accord at the conference table—a document which would be mutually acceptable and based on a reliable foundation of verification [proverka], Manfred Woerner said in conclusion.

Zholkver Sees Lack of Response to Arms Initiative
LD1412001088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Commentary by political observer Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] [Zholkver] Among the foreign reaction to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's UN speech, attention is drawn to the particularly large number of statements by senior NATO officials—from senior ranks in the various Atlantic armies to NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner.

In fact, though, the actual abundance of these statements generates no real surprise. After all, following the Soviet leader's announcement of our country's new large-scale peace initiatives, everyone is now asking the natural question: What response will NATO make? Wolfgang Mischnick, chairman of the Free Democratic Party's Bundestag group, which forms part of the Bonn government coalition, states bluntly: The West must put forward its own disarmament proposals in reply to the USSR's new peace initiatives.

Unfortunately, however, no such proposals have yet been received from NATO. Moreover, both at the recent NATO session and after it, just one and the same thesis has been repeated in various ways: The Soviet Union is said to have a superiority in conventional weapons, so let it reduce them. What can be said on the subject? First,

the USSR has already announced the upcoming reduction of its armed forces by 500,000 men, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 operational aircraft. This is a kind of advance payment. However, as we take such unilateral measures, we are naturally looking to NATO to take reciprocal steps—especially since in a number of cases, for instance with these same operational aircraft, the advantage in Europe lies with NATO. Incidentally, West Europe is so saturated with warplanes that, since the most recent air crash in the FRG and the protests of the population resulting from it, the NATO Command has been obliged to call at least a temporary halt to flights over densely populated areas. So we are proposing that all these issues—the elimination of the imbalances in individual kinds of armaments, and their overall reduction throughout the continent of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals—should be discussed at talks between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries, and that they should begin such talks as soon as possible.

As for NATO's persistent repetition of the claims about the Warsaw Pact Organization's military superiority, it is clearly intended only to justify the plans for the so-called modernization of the Atlantic weapons, which were drawn up long ago and were repeated at the latest NATO session. It is noteworthy, however, that on the very day when the NATO secretary general made another speech in the same vein, Admiral Wellershoff, inspector general of the Bundeswehr, himself admitted that 86 percent of West Germans no longer believe in the threat from the East.

Biryukova Attends Creative Youth Festival
LD0812231488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow has become the capital of the first festival of creative youth of the socialist countries. The envoys of 11 states in Europe, Asia, and Latin America have gathered here. On 8 December, its grand opening took place in the State Central Concert Hall. Biryukova, a candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was present at the evening.

Those who gathered received with applause the message of greetings from Comrade Gorbachev to the participants in the festival. It was read out by USSR Minister of Culture Zakharov.

Czech Official in Moscow for CEMA Talks
LD0612121388 Prague CTK in English 1130 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow Dec 6 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Deputy Prime Minister and Chairman of the State Commission for Technological Development and Investments Pavel Hrivnak held talks on cooperation in implementing the decisions of the 44th Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) session in Moscow yesterday.

The Czechoslovak official met Soviet Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology Boris Tolstykh, Deputy Premier Vladimir Gusev, and other Soviet representatives.

Pavel Hrivnak and Boris Tolstykh changed views on the questions of the international division of labour and integration of the CMEA member countries and dealt with the collective concept of the international socialist division of labour and the share of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union in its realization.

Pavel Hrivnak and Vladimir Gusev discussed the possibilities of the development of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between both countries.

Joint action in expert analysis of some investment plans, the questions of planning management and application of science and technology in the conditions of restructuring were the topics of Pavel Hrivnak's talks with other Soviet representatives.

Polish Vice Premier Attends CEMA Session
LD0812165288 Warsaw PAP in English 1551 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, Dec 8—A Polish delegation led by Vice-Premier Janusz Patorski attended here the 39th session of the CMEA Committee for Scientific-Technologial Cooperation which approved a number of big joint innovative ventures for implementation. They cover the designing of a ceramic car engine, developing multicomponent materials with special properties and producing new anti-component materials with special properties and producing new anti- corrosive panellings and coatings resistant to high temperatures.

During his visit here, Patorski met Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers Boris Tolstykh to discuss questions of improvement in the effectiveness of the CMEA scientific-technological cooperation.

The sides started also new initiatives to improve Polish-Soviet cooperation in science and technology.

Bloc Customs Changes Deter Some Soviet Tourists
PM0712144988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 First Edition p 6

[N. Krivomazov article under the "Facts and Commentary" rubric: "Tourism Without Traveling Bags"]

[Text] As people are aware, certain customs rules have been adjusted in the GDR and CSSR. The export of certain kinds of goods by foreign tourists has thus been restricted and 45 items have been banned from export altogether.

But do these measures not affect tourism, particularly trips by our citizens to neighboring countries? It is no secret, after all, that many of our compatriots travel not just to "see the world" but also to fill their wardrobes.

L. Grabarev, deputy chief of the State Committee Foreign Tourism Department for Tourism to Socialist Countries, gave the following figures: One group has turned down a trip to the GDR, five groups have turned down visits to the CSSR, and another two groups intending to visit both countries have not gone—278 people altogether are involved.

I contacted the Moscow branch of the Sputnik International Youth Tourism Bureau. Foreign Travel Department Chief V. Tyurin spoke:

"A 'friendship train' carrying 410 people left for the GDR 26 November. Nobody has returned their ticket. Before the trip we asked customs officers to give the tourists exhaustive explanations regarding the new rules."

What does this rapid analysis indicate? The first conclusion is that the older the tourists are, the more bothered they are about the opening hours of foreign stores. A second group of questions is bound up with the imperfect system of consumer goods trade among CEMA countries. I remember how difficult it was for a visitor from Czechoslovakia to obtain an "Elektronika" microwave oven here. In Czechoslovakia it is popular but pricey. Visitors here are just as keen to buy other electrical goods and radio and television equipment. While we bring back from "over there" clothes, panty hose, footwear.... So why not make a straight swap, as it were, of our scarce goods, thereby responding swiftly to market conditions?

Gerasimov on 'Arafat Speech at Geneva UN Session
LD1312144388 Moscow TASS in English 1423 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—The Soviet Union thinks that the discussion of the Palestinian issue at this year's session of the United Nations General Assembly is particularly important in the light of the decisions of the recent session of the Palestine National Council (PNC), Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate, told a briefing here on Tuesday.

He emphasised that the PNC had adopted a package of measures which open up favourable opportunities for an advance towards a Middle East settlement.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman recalled that the decision to continue debates on the Palestinian issue in Geneva from December 13 to 15 was prompted by the U.S. denial of an entry visa to PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat.

"When discussing this issue in Geneva, the Soviet Union will voice its solidarity with the friendly Palestinian people and readiness to exert every effort to establish a fair and durable peace in the Middle East," Gerasimov emphasised.

'Roundtable' on Gorbachev Speech, Foreign Relations
LD1112222588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 11 Dec 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program presented by Nikolay Agayants, foreign policy commentator for All-Union Radio, with Boris Vasiliyevich Andrianov, foreign policy commentator for All-Union Radio, and Vadim Borisovich Kassis, editor in chief of GOLOS RODINY and OTCHIZNA and "well-known Soviet publicist"]

[Text] [Agayants] Hello comrades! Taking part in our meeting today are Boris Vasiliyevich Andrianov, foreign policy commentator for All-Union Radio, and Vadim Borisovich Kassis, editor-in-chief of the newspaper GOLOS RODINY and the journal OTCHIZNA, and a well-known Soviet publicist. The new political thinking placed by the 27th party congress at the heart of the foreign policy strategy of the Soviet state, and directed at eliminating nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction in creating a nuclear-free and non-violent world, is not just some abstention—it is the foundation of real, practical actions which are bearing fruit for mankind. This was confirmed once again by the profound and graphic speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at UN Headquarters on 7 December, and by the numerous responses to it coming in to the editorial offices of newspapers, radio, and television literally from the four corners of the world.

[Andrianov] The range of these responses is broad and diverse—from moderately biding their time in certain NATO capitals to sincere and fervent approval. It is clear that a certain amount of time will be needed in order to gain an attentive knowledge of this document, to study it, and to draw the appropriate conclusions. And in our work we journalists will, I am sure, be turning on several occasions to the text of Comrade Gorbachev's speech and to the new peace initiatives set out in it. And so, at the same time it is also clear that this speech didn't leave anyone indifferent. A positive contribution to the cause of universal disarmament, useful initiatives, a new step along the road of detente—these are just some of the headlines taken at random from the latest foreign publications.

[Kassis] At the same time, it would not be right to present the matter as though the proposals set out in Mikhail Sergeyevich's speech have been received in an unambiguously positive light in the world. Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, Kohl, the Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney, and the Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky welcomed these initiatives. But there were also voices stating that this is no more than a propaganda Christmas present to the West, and that even after the unilateral steps by the Soviet Union in terms of reducing armed forces and conventional weapons, a certain superiority of the Warsaw Pact states will be preserved, and therefore, a communist threat, too, and so on and so forth, in the spirit of the nauseating stereotypes of the past.

[Agayants] Well, that's quite natural, Vadim Borisovich. It would be difficult to expect the new Soviet initiatives to be to the liking of everyone. But there is movement, as they say, and the majority of people in the world have taken a serious attitude to the Soviet proposals. In general, to judge from the responses of the foreign mass media, the speech by the Soviet leader at the United Nations is being commented upon in several areas. First, it is a matter of the high value placed by Mikhail Sergeyevich on the United Nations, stressing that it is revealing more and more its ability to be a unique international center, serving peace and security.

[Andrianov] The question was raised very keenly and specifically in New York—and this is pointed out by many observers and diplomats—of the new role of the United Nations, this unique instrument without which it is now already impossible to imagine world politics. The invigoration of its peacemaking role in the recent period has again demonstrated the United Nation's ability to help its members cope with the stern summons of the times to take the path of humanizing international relations.

[Kassis] It is by the way very instructive, as is noted by Comrade Gorbachev, that the rebirth of the role of the United Nations in recent years is directly linked with the general improvement in the international climate and with the positive changes that are occurring in our world.

[Agayants] The United Nations, as it were, accumulates the interests of various states, and in essence it is the only organization capable of combining their efforts in a common channel—bilateral, regional and all-encompassing efforts. New possibilities are opening up before the organization in all spheres entering the competence of the world community—military-political, economic, scientific and technical, ecological and humanitarian.

[Andrianov] And it has to be said that the broadest response, especially in the countries of the Third World, was stimulated by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement on the problem of development, a problem truly common to all mankind. The most severe living conditions of millions of people in some regions of the world are becoming simply explosive for all of us, for the whole of mankind. Illiteracy, disease, and poverty are still far from being eliminated in modern society. And it is only possible to solve these problems together, with united efforts, taking into account the interests of all groups of countries. Only such an organization as the United Nations is capable of ensuring this.

[Kassis] Take such a painful problem, Boris Vasiliyevich, as foreign debt, which lies as a heavy burden on the shoulders of the peoples of the developing countries. The developing world, at a price of innumerable losses and sacrifices in the colonial era, gave an advance in prosperity to a considerable part of the world community. The time has now come to compensate for the deprivations which accompanied this, its historic and tragic contribution to world material progress. The foreign debt that has been accumulated by many states of the Third World—to take a sober view of things and take into account the realities that have arisen—this debt cannot be either paid off or recovered on the original terms.

[Agayants] For this reason, as was stated by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his speech at the 43d UN session, the Soviet Union is, for example, prepared to set a protracted moratorium, right up to 100 years, on the repayment of debts by the least developed countries, and in a whole number of cases to write them off in full.

[Andrianov] This is a very important, well thought-out, and considered step by our state. It has to be said that enormous interest has also been stimulated among the world public by the other measures advanced by our leader in this direction. I would remind you that we are inviting everyone to examine, in particular, such possibilities as these: Limiting repayments on the official debts depending on the indices of the development of the economy of each of the debtor countries, and announcing a protracted deferment on a substantial proportion of the repayments. Second, supporting the appeal by the UN Conference on Trade and Development on reducing debt to commercial banks. Third, ensuring government support for settling the debt of Third World states by the market mechanism, including the setting up of a specialized international institution for buying debt at a discount. As you can see, we have here a very broad spectrum of specific, constructive proposals which, of course, could not fail to stimulate and have stimulated the broad interest and support of the international public.

[Agayants] I would only add that our country advocates specific discussion of all ways of settling the problems of foreign debt at multilateral international forums, including consultations of heads of government of both debtor and creditor countries, held under UN aegis.

[Kassis] As you know, Nikolay Ivanovich, the impossible cannot be achieved, and we are not setting ourselves such an absurd task. Nevertheless, such themes as the following, which were touched upon in the speech by Comrade Gorbachev on 7 December at the United Nations, should, I believe, be enumerated, if only in summary: The removal of the ecological threat; the peaceful conquest of space; Soviet-American relations at the contemporary stage; and the problem of switching from an economy of armament to an economy of disarmament—that is, the problem of converting military production, which we consider a realistically resolvable matter and are ready to prove it.

[Agayants] A justified observation, the more so since within the scope of time allotted to us it is not possible to examine all aspects of this important document. But we must speak of at least two more today. These are the decision of the Soviet Union to unilaterally cut its armed forces, and the problem of regional conflicts—in particular, Afghanistan. You will recall that in the coming two years we will embark on reducing the size of our Armed Forces by 500,000 and on substantially reducing the volume of our conventional armaments. In taking this decision of fundamental importance, the Soviet leadership is expressing the will of a people engaged in restructuring and the in-depth renewal of the whole of our socialist society. At the same time, as was stated from the lofty tribune of the United Nations, we will maintain the country's defense capability at a level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency, so that no one should entertain the temptation of encroaching on the security of the USSR and her allies.

As concerns Afghanistan, the Geneva agreements provided an opportunity to complete a settlement and untie the knots of the Afghan problem as early as this year. But this did not happen.

[Kassis] As was stressed by Comrade Gorbachev, it seems to us that within the competence of the United Nations the November resolution of the General Assembly could be supplemented with certain specific measures. What ones, precisely? Speaking in the words of the

resolution, for the immediate achievement of a comprehensive solution by the Afghans themselves to the question of a broad-based government, to undertake the following....

[Agayants] I propose quoting the specific Soviet proposals, and so: from 1 January 1989 to have a full cease-fire everywhere, halt all offensive operations or shellings, and, for the period of the talks, leave all territories occupied by opposing Afghan groups under their control. Linked to this, from the same date all arms deliveries to all belligerent parties stop. Furthermore, for the period of establishing the broad-based government envisaged in the General Assembly resolution a contingent of UN peacekeeping forces should be sent to Kabul and other strategic centers. Comrade Gorbachev's speech also contains an appeal to the UN secretary-general to foster the speediest implementation of the idea of holding an international conference on the neutrality and demilitarization of Afghanistan.

[Andrianov] I think that one should pay attention to what Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev added. He said that we shall continue to assist most actively in healing the wounds of war, and that we are ready to cooperate in this matter both with the United Nations and also on a bilateral basis, just as we support the proposal for setting up, under United Nations auspices, a volunteer international peace corps to assist in the rebirth of Afghanistan. On 5 December we marked the 10th anniversary of the treaty of friendship, good-neighborliness and cooperation with that country. We, comrade listeners, need to address ourselves to the realities of the republic at the present time.

[Kassis] Well, it is too early to speak of a peaceful Afghanistan. Signs of war are everywhere. It is even hard, for instance, to imagine a flourishing Qandahar, which I had the opportunity to visit, where not a single building remains totally intact. Houses are in ruins and whole districts have been abandoned by their inhabitants. Nevertheless some of them are beginning to return, with their simple belongings, to breathe new life into the sites of barbarous destruction. It is not just Qandahar that has suffered at the hands of the bandits. It is for this reason even strange when certain naive people ask whether suspending Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan is not a violation of the Geneva Accords.

[Agayants] In this connection, I think, one should remember that there is a date for the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, which is specified in the Geneva agreements. It is 15 February next year. However, the withdrawal of Soviet forces has at the present been temporarily suspended in connection with the deterioration of the military-political situation in the country. Another thing worth remembering is that the Soviet subunits are leaving the country through the goodwill of our government and they will be withdrawn in line with the normalization of the situation there. The present conditions that the rebels are now attempting to impose do not accord with a suitable situation for the normal withdrawal of Soviet forces.

[Andrianov] Let us just recall the most recent facts. Afghan opposition formations resumed their offensive operations against government forces in the eastern province of Nangarhar. A group of over 20,000 men and 1,200 members of Pakistani militarized border subunits in support seized the border post of Torkham, blocking the Torkham-Jalalabad road and extending the fighting to the immediate vicinity of the provincial center.

[Kassis] According to an analysis of the situation made by BAKHTAR, the rebels are planning to get control of the main trunk-roads leading to the capital and thereby deprive Kabul's population of food, fuel and lubricants for transportation, and basic necessities. This is also seen by the military activity of the bandits along the road through the Salang Pass, where they are plundering private and state vehicles and attempting to seize security posts.

[Agayants] The situation remains complex in practically all Afghan provinces. In Laghman, for example, over 5,000 rebels are concentrated. Preparations are under way there for a raid on the town of Mehtarlam. New groups are continuing to arrive in the provinces of Nimruz and Farah from Pakistan.

Incidentally, what is the position of Benazir Bhutto, the new Pakistani Prime Minister, on Afghanistan?

[Andrianov] In my opinion it is fairly difficult to give an unambiguous answer to that question. The fact is that the Western news agencies have been transmitting different versions, even some that are in conflict with one another. If one recalls the very first news conference of Mrs Bhutto, she gave the following answer to a question on what specifically the Pakistan Government intends to do for the promptest solution of the Afghan issue. She said: Pakistan's policy regarding Afghanistan remains unchanged. We hope that everything will proceed smoothly. We are witnessing contacts between the Alliance—she had the opposition in mind—and the Soviet Union on the question of prisoners of war. In time this kind of contact may be extended to other problems.

[Kassis] Well, it seems that once again the cart is being put before the horse, as they say. How many times can one enquire who is putting barriers in the way of the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan! Surely it is not fortuitous that, as President Najibullah noted a few days ago, the Republic of Afghanistan has sent a request to the UN Security Council that the Council meet on Pakistani violations of the Geneva Accords. Pakistan's dangerous activities were also condemned at an enlarged sitting of the Supreme Extraordinary Council for National Reconciliation in Afghanistan, and the UN Secretary-General was notified of this.

[Agayants] One should like not to repeat oneself, but one has to. Pakistan is violating the Geneva agreements not through its own particular boldness or on its own initiative. Everything is being directed by certain forces from Washington. Military assistance to the opposition groups continues to be granted from across the ocean by direct and indirect channels.

[Andrianov] Nikolay Ivanovich, you mentioned the existence of indirect channels for assisting the groups. But, nevertheless, this assistance passes through Pakistan, and despite the quite evident nature of the situation Washington states that its assistance is to be explained by Soviet support for the Kabul regime.

[Kassis] One has no need to say that this argument is a fabricated one. Even THE NEW YORK TIMES thinks that by its actions the United States is only broadening the scale of the conflict in Afghanistan and is moreover forcing Moscow to undertake new military measures. One wants to ask why Washington will not take advantage of Moscow's decision to withdraw its troops to solve the whole problem, and is instead helping the groups to bombard Soviet military posts and those very soldiers which the Soviet command intends to send home. After all, this is the barrier on the way to 15 February next year.

[Agayants] Speaking at the 43d United Nations General Assembly session, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev drew attention to a very important circumstance of our present time, when a realization of the need for a peaceful period is becoming a prevailing trend. He stressed the role to be played by political dialogue that is more intensive, more open, and more directed at the essence of problems as well as by the exchange of contructive ideas in all aspects of the international situation. Comrade Gorbachev advocated making political dialogue more dynamic, giving it a substantive character, and strengthening the political prerequisites needed for an improvement of the international atmosphere. He noted that the practical solution of many problems will then be made easier.

[Kassis] This needs to be acknowledged if one is realistically assessing the state of affairs. After all, present realities prompt the thought that a dialogue capable of ensuring the normal and constructive course of the international process needs the constant and energetic involvement of all countries and regions of the world, whether they be big, medium-sized or small. Indeed it is quite understandable why Mikhail Sergeyevich specifically mentioned such major entities as India, China, Brazil and Japan.

[Andrianov] Incidentally, the world public is now attaching great importance to the prospects of Soviet-Chinese dialogue. It has evoked heightened interest in connection with last week's official visit to our country by PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen.

[Agayants] What is noteworthy is that even before the arrival of the Chinese minister in Moscow the purpose of his forthcoming mission was already being extensively discussed in various circles of the world public. This probably occurred, the Chinese magazine LIAOWANG said, because it is considered everywhere that this visit shows that the Soviet-Chinese summit, which has been in preparation for a long time, is now not far distant, and that the time is coming for a normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

[Kassis] It is perfectly understandable how important such a development is globally. The Indian newspaper THE TIMES OF INDIA, for example, noted that in conditions where virtually the whole range of international relations is at the stage of restructuring, the substantial development of Soviet-Chinese relations acquires particular importance. There are, of course, very weighty grounds for such a conclusion.

[Andrianov] The visit by the PRC foreign minister to our country undoubtedly denotes that a new phase in relations between the Soviet Union and the PRC is beginning. After all, this visit served in itself as an important step toward raising the level of Soviet-Chinese political dialogue. This reflects the qualitative changes which have taken shape in our bilateral relations; and these changes are occurring as a result of the joint efforts of the Soviet Union and China.

[Agayants] That is unquestionably the case, Boris Vasilyevich. Perceptible changes in a favorable direction have occurred in our relations with China in recent years. Our bilateral ties are increasing in virtually all spheres. Contacts at both the government, the parliamentary, and the public levels have become broader. Political consultations are being conducted regularly. Negotiations on a border settlement are at a new stage. Trade is increasing, and economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation is developing dynamically.

[Kassis] Such a healthy and perfectly natural process can only be welcomed, of course; it is no chance occurrence. This process reflects the aspirations of both countries' leadership to strive for a positive evolution of Soviet-Chinese relations while clearing away the deposits of the past and overcoming the present difficulties.

[Andrianov] Here, I think, we must not fail to say that our country is working actively toward full normalization of relations between the two largest socialist states. After all, the Soviet Union has repeatedly stated that it is prepared, at any time and at any level, to discuss with China, in the most serious manner, the questions of additional measures to establish an atmosphere of good-neighborliness. Therefore, it was natural for us to see the aim of the talks with Qian Qichen as promoting the arrangement of a full-scale Soviet-Chinese political dialogue, historically oriented toward friendship, cooperation, and mutual understanding between our countries.

[Agayants] Such a position is fully justified. After all, for all the changes in the political weather, friendship, good-neighborliness and cooperation have remained unalterable quantities in the spiritual mutual attraction of the Soviet and Chinese peoples. This, incidentally, also explains the broad public support in both countries for steps to normalize our relations; and the actual accord between the Soviet Union and China on exchanging visits by the ministers of foreign affairs confirms, I think, the aspiration of both sides to reach a higher level of political communication.

[Kassis] This aspiration was made apparent in the course of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with Qian Qichen. During the conversation with the Chinese guest it was noted that the leaders of the two countries are thinking now of holding a summit-level meeting and regard the exchange of visits by the ministers of foreign affairs as part of the preparation. The participants in the conversation came to the common view that a meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping can take place in Beijing in the first half of next year. This event will, without a doubt, lift Soviet-Chinese relations to a qualitatively different level and give their development a new stimulus.

[Andrianov] We have mentioned the great progress in the sphere of our ties with China. All this is, of course, a gratifying phenomenon, and it is pleasant to take cognizance of it. But now, when a new stage in Soviet-Chinese relations is beginning, we must go further; and to judge by the results of the talks with Qian Qichen, Moscow and Beijing do not intend to stop at what has been achieved, believing that it is necessary to look to the future.

[Agayanats] Well, seeing now the matter of the full normalization of our relations with China, it is important not to glance back, but to look ahead. You see, the world is already far from being what it was three or four decades ago. Therefore, Soviet-Chinese relations cannot be built other than on the basis of contemporary realities. That needs to be taken into account in our time. The Soviet people would like to build their relations with their great neighbor on the basis of principles of equality, mutual respect, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs, and regard for each other's interests, views, experience, and practice. All this is in keeping with the Chinese side's aspiration to establish relations of a new type with the Soviet Union, based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

[Kassis] Soviet people are realists; therefore, we are indeed looking ahead in our relations with China. Remember what Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said when he received the Chinese guest in the Kremlin. He stressed that we are satisfied, on the whole, with the development of our cooperation in various areas of life; but, at the same time, we believe that only a start has been made here. An important additional factor in favor of the development of Soviet-Chinese relations, Comrade Gorbachev added, is the fact that our two great peoples are both proceeding along the road of transformation and reform.

[Andrianov] That very important circumstance is stimulating. It is, above all, precisely the requirements of internal renewal which dictate the mutual aspiration for a full normalization of bilateral ties, creating thereby a favorable setting for this. Restructuring is going on in our country now, and modernization is going on in China. For all the differences between the concrete conditions, these processes have much in common—which, in essence, multiplies the points of contact between the two countries.

[Agayants] I would add to what has been said that we are getting more and more amicability and trust in relations betwen our peoples, and the deep interest in each other is being renewed as well as filled with new content. Such a trend is intensified, in my view, by an understanding that there are no contradictions between the fundamental interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and China, while our cooperation has good chances to create a living fabric of relations of peace, friendship and goodneighborliness.

[Kassis] The strengthening and development of Soviet-Chinese ties are not only in the interest of bilateral relations. We attach great importance to the fact that the Soviet Union and China approach a number of major fundamental international problems from similar positions. Our efforts in the struggle against the threat of nuclear war and for disarmament and international security, for example, are proceeding in the same direction.

[Andrianov] And yet another thing which is unquestionable. The improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations is a component—and, moreover, exceptionally important—part of the process of a general improvement of the international climate, a strengthening of security and the expansion and deepening of cooperation by all states in solving the global problems of mankind.

[Agayants] With that we conclude our meeting at the roundtable today. All its participants thank you, comrades, for your attention. Goodbye and all the best!

United States & Canada

Gerasimov on Gorbachev UN Speech, U.S. Ties

PM1312113188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 13 Dec 88 p 7

[Gennadiy Gerasimov "World on Tuesday" commentary: "A Day in New York"]

[Text] New York, Moscow—M.S. Gorbachev had finished his speech. On my way out of the UN General Assembly hall someone called to me.

I looked round. It was George Shultz.

"That was an important and constructive speech," the U.S. secretary of state said.

"Can I quote you on that?"

The secretary of state nodded. So I am quoting him.

The first brief positive assessments of the Soviet leader's speech soon gave way to more detailed ones.

David Frost, a British TV commentator, recalled various political landmarks and dwelt on Winston Churchill's speech in Fulton, Missouri, in 1946.

"The one," I asked, "which many historians see as the beginning of the cold war? You mean that M.S. Gorbachev's speech marks the end of the cold war?"

"Precisely," Frost answered.

Since the cold war is just a metaphor and not a historical fact, different definitions and interpretations of it are possible. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, for example, was ready to bury it even before M.S. Gorbachev's speech, but Shultz isn't quite ready even now. Speaking in Brussels, where he was taking part in a NATO Council session, he said: "I like the thesis that the cold war is over. I just hope that it is true."

A reassuring reservation!

Leaving the metaphor aside, the majority of commentaries have been enthusiastic or cordial. For example, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, which is highly skeptical about us, remarked in the context of the "epitaph of the cold war" that "it will now be very difficult in the future to maintain the image of a Soviet Union preparing to invade Western Europe."

That is how NATO sees us. In the communique issued by the NATO Council session held at foreign minister level in Brussels at the end of last week we read: "President Gorbachev's speech at the 43d UN General Assembly session is one of the most promising events of the recent past."

But NATO is still NATO. Therefore the communique points out that the "imbalance in conventional armaments in Europe is still the main source of Western Europe's fears for its future." True, the communique and the NATO Council statement adopted in Brussels contain promises to "bring to the negotiating table specific proposals aimed at eliminating the imbalance."

We shall see whether NATO is able to overcome its permanent lack of creative initiative and adopt a new approach to the question of ensuring security in Europe.

Marlin Fitzwater, White House press secretary under this President and the new one (I congratulated him on that), and I settled down in the corner of a room where a meeting was being held, our wits (and our pencils) sharpened in the performance of our duty.

The first theme of the discussion was the earthquake in Armenia, on which at that time only preliminary reports which did not give the complete picture had come in.

The Americans respond to other people's problems, be it the famine in the Volga region in the twenties (I know about that from my mother) or the tragedy of Armenia today.

At that moment the scale of catastrophe was still unclear. Later on they would unhesitatingly extend a helping hand to us: Tell us, what do you need?

The idea of continuity was the pivot of the discussion. It is necessary to continue along the path of normalizing Soviet-U.S. relations and rapprochement between our countries and peoples which was started by the Geneva meeting in 1985.

President Reagan presented M.S. Gorbachev with a photograph of their meeting in Geneva on which he had written: "We have traveled a long way together to clear the road to peace."

We will not stand still, we will continue what we have begun.

Joint U.S.-USSR Human Rights Forum Ends

LD1012190188 Moscow TASS in English 1608 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—Representatives of the Soviet and U.S. public gathered in the Soviet capital to discuss human rights.

It was the first time in the history of Soviet-U.S. relations that representatives of the two sides managed to avoid confrontation and mutual accusations while discussing human rights and start searching for constructive solutions to the problem.

The atmosphere at the four-day "Forum for Life With Human Rights", which closed Friday [9 December], was that of openness and mutual interest.

Grigoriy Lokshin, secretary of the Soviet Peace Committee, said at the final news conference that the forum was not intended to pass any resolutions or declarations.

"We drafted specific projects whose implementation would make it possible to largely solve problems still persisting in the field of human rights in both countries," he said.

The forum adopted more than 10 projects of joint action by the Soviet and U.S. public on various aspects of the issue.

The sides agreed on the establishment, on a permanent basis, of "Educational cooperation" on human rights.

It will include exchanges of experts, lecturers, teachers, students and legal education programmes, the recording of television programmes, public opinion polls, and publication of joint articles.

The ecology and human rights group proposed drafting an international civil agreement on environmental safety.

Of course, such an agreement, signed by representatives of public organisations and movements from various countries, would not be valid as an international legal act.

However, in the opinion of forum participants, it could have a big moral impact, mobilising efforts of the international community for environmental protection.

The sides decided to hold such meetings on a regular basis. The next forum will be held in the United States next autumn.

Bush Plan To Increase Defense Spending Cited

PM1312121188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "No Intention of Abandoning Previous Plans"]

[Text] Washington, 12 Dec—President-elect George Bush does not intend to abandon plans to increase the U.S. military budget in the next fiscal year. This is reported by the BALTIMORE SUN, citing the closest advisors to Bush, who will assume his presidential office in January.

"Bush's advisors have stated," the newspaper points out in particular, "that, although Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's decision to cut the Soviet Armed Forces is encouraging, it will not, however, alter Bush's plans to increase the military budget in fiscal 1990 (which begins 1 October 1989) by $12 billion in line with inflation."

Bush is, however, faced with the difficult task of cutting the budget deficit in that year to $100 billion under a law passed by Congress. A report issued by the House Budget Committee the other day noted that to achieve that goal the 41st president will need to cut federal budget expenditure items by 10 percent without taking account of inflation. According to his advisors, Bush plans to amend the draft budget for fiscal 1990 drawn up by the Reagan administraton. Citing Bush's advisors, the newspaper stresses that the new administration will try in the first instance to reduce appropriations for such important social programs as medical aid for the elderly, support for farmers, and so forth.

The BALTIMORE SUN points out that Democrats in Congress are getting ready to demand that the new U.S. president cut the country's military budget.

Aims of U.S. Military Shuttle Flights Condemned

PM1412104088 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[I. Deyev article under the rubric "More About the Secret of 'Atlantis'": "Under the Eye of Radars"]

[Text] A debate has been under way in the Pentagon for 25 years now on how effective and useful manned space systems would be for carrying out tactical and strategic reconnaissance operations. The launch of the reusable space shuttle "Atlantis" with five military astronauts on board apparently indicates that the advocates of the militarization of space are gradually taking the upper hand in this debate.

The preparation and launch of "Atlantis" took place with great restraint, without the customary pomp, and even without the usual announcement of the nature of the payload and objectives of the flight. The astronauts were strictly forbidden to give the traditional daily preflight news conference and interviews to the press. No information was made public on the mission the crew carried out, even after the ship had landed. Communications between the ship and the earth took place exclusively through protected channels.

This flight, the 27th "shuttle" flight and the 3d entirely devoted to military purposes, was surrounded by a curtain of strict secrecy. Nonetheless, long before the launch, reports leaked into the press to the effect that the Pentagon plans to carry out 11 exercises by military astronauts. Seven of them will be carried out by the Air Force, with two each for the Army and Navy. In the course of these shuttle flights, the authoritative weekly AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY claims that they will determine how expedient it is to use men to carry out operations in strategic reconnaissance and to give warning of the launch of enemy ballistic

missiles, to observe troop movements, to carry out tasks in the command of modern warfare, and to coordinate manned space operations between the Air Force, Army, Navy, CIA, and National Security Agency. During the first flights, communications satellites, electronic surveillance satellites, and a new early warning satellite built by the TRW company will be inserted into geosynchronous orbit.

The main aim of the first flight of "Atlantis" was to insert a spy satellite in near-earth orbit and discover the astronauts' potential for observing military operations from orbit. The experiments included the use of special binoculars and other optical devices to observe missile launches and maneuvers by tanks and other military hardware. According to American press reports, during one flight a system of direct vision from space will be tested, which will make it possible to study in detail objects on the surface of the earth and to control instruments for multispectrum locking on a target and for tracking it with the help of optical instruments.

As AP reported, the crew successfully fulfilled the main part of their mission—with the help of a manipulator, they inserted into orbit at an altitude of 240 km a top-secret "Indigo-Lacrosse" spy satellite of the new generation, weighing more than 13.6 tonnes. According to U.S. press reports, this "miracle" of spy technology is designed to observe targets on Soviet territory and to collect intelligence information about our country. It is equipped with a sideways-looking radar with high resolution, capable of covering 80 percent of Soviet territory on its passage over the USSR. It will also make it possible in all weather conditions and even at night to observe military movements in Eastern Europe and Soviet missile silos. The sophisticated radar makes it possible to take detailed photographs of targets on the earth regardless of atmospheric conditions. According to John Pike, assistant director of the Federation of American Scientists, this is the first U.S. military reconnaissance satellite equipped with radar imaging. The cost of the "Lacrosse" totals some $500 million. According to the scientist, the Air Force plans to launch three more such satellites in the next few years, which could be used for target designation for B-2 "Stealth" strategic bombers. In other words, they will play the part of "eyes" for the bombers. In the course of the series of planned experiments a small-capacity laser target designator installed on the "shuttle" will also be tested.

The military astronauts' exercises, AP notes, will take place in tandem with ground maneuvers by troops, movements of naval ships, simulated combat operations, and the launch of ballistic missiles. In the course of numerous experiments it will be determined whether an astronaut on board the "shuttle" can observe the launch of ballistic missiles or SLBM's [submarine-launched ballistic missiles] and determine their bearing. Exercises are also planned in determining the coordinates of land and sea targets and observing the "ocean memory"—the trace left behind by submarines on the water's surface when submerged.

Within the framework of the two projects "Terra Geod" and "Terra Scout," proposed by the Army command, it will be established how much the observation and studies of the earth's geological structure from space will help in the implementation of operations to move troop formations and hardware in broken terrain and in the command of combat operations.

All these facts clearly indicate that the Pentagon strategists in the field of space militarization are gradually turning from words to deeds. The tasks for the second series of experiments on manned shuttle craft, planned for the nineties, are already being adjusted and refined.

In tandem with the military astronauts' exercises, preparations for space tests within the framework of SDI are in full swing. Thus tests of beam weapons are scheduled for 27 April 1989. To this end a military satellite will be inserted into orbit, AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY reported. This experiment will launch a series of large-scale tests within the framework of SDI, which the Pentagon plans to continue in the spring and summer of 1990.

Pentagon Confirms Pacific Training Accident

LD1412064688 Moscow TASS in English 0639 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 14 TASS—Dan Howard, U.S. Defence Department spokesman, confirmed on Tuesday mass media reports on a serious incident that had taken place recently during a U.S. naval exercise in the Pacific Ocean.

Howard said at a news conference that a F-18 fighter plane flying a training mission to the operation zone of the Constellation aircraft carrier had fired a Harpoon missile at a training sea target. However, it had deviated from the target and had hit a merchant ship flying the Indian flag killing a crew member. The ship had been in the area north-west of the Kauai Island which had been closed for civilian navigation since December 8 in connection with the U.S. naval exercise.

According to Howard, the reasons for the missile's deviation from its trajectory are being investigated.

Northeast Asia

Shevardnadze Receives Japanese Ambassador

LD1312140588 Moscow TASS in English 1314 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze received today Toshiaki Muto, Japan's ambassador to the Soviet Union, at his request.

During their conversation they touched upon some questions connected with Soviet-Japanese relations and some international problems in the light of the coming official

visit of Shevardnadze to Japan. Both sides expressed the intention to make the coming visit of the Soviet foreign minister to Japan an important step forward in the improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations which will promote the deepening of mutual understanding and the expansion of mutual advantageous cooperation in the interests of peoples of both countries, as well as the cause of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region and throughout the world.

Shevardnadze expressed gratitude to the Japanese Government for their condolences and sympathy over the devastating earthquake in the Republic of Armenia, as well as for their decision to send aid to the victims of the tragedy.

Lukyanov Receives Mongolian Delegation 12 Dec

PM1312102988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In an Atmosphere of Fraternal Friendship"]

[Text] On 12 December a meeting took place between A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and a delegation of the Mongolian People's Great Hural headed by Ts. Namsray, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee and deputy chairman of the People's Great Hural Presidium.

In the course of the conversation, held in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and mutual understanding, a thorough exchange of views took place on the state of and prospects for bilateral relations and topical questions of the development of the two countries' sociopolitical structures in conditions of all-around socialist renewal.

A.I. Lukyanov briefed the Mongolian parliamentarians on progress in implementing the radical political reform outlined by the 19th all-union party conference, the further democratization of Soviet society, and the results of the work of the extraordinary 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He drew their attention to the large-scale foreign policy initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations.

Ts. Namsray gave an account of the work of Mongolian state organs in implementing the MPRP's course aimed at accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, stressed the fundamental theoretical and practical importance of the restructuring in the Soviet Union for the development of the process of renewal in the economic, political, and spiritual spheres of Mongolian society's life, and declared Mongolia's full support for the Soviet proposals which reflect the new political thinking.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the level of traditional Soviet-Mongolian ties, and their mutual desire to continue to develop them steadily, in the interests of further strengthening friendship and collaboration between the Soviet and the Mongolian peoples and reinforcing their close cooperation—including cooperation in the parliamentary sphere—and also in the cause of implementing Soviet and Mongolian initiatives aimed at strengthening security and confidence in Asia and the Pacific region and throughout the world. The importance of further deepening business contacts and exchanges of experience in state building between Soviet and Mongolian central and local organs of people's power was noted.

On behalf of his delegation, Ts. Namsray expressed profound condolences and sympathy to the Soviet people in connection with the tragic consequences of the earthquake in Armenia.

Taking part in the conversation were Yu.N. Khristoradnov and A.E. Voss, chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers; Yu.N. Balandin, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy; and Ts. Gurbadam, Mongolian ambassador to the USSR.

Namsray, Delegation Depart

LD1412000988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] The delegation of the Mongolian People's Great Hural, headed by Namsray, member of the Politburo, secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the People's Great Hural Presidium, has left Moscow for home. The delegation had paid an official visit to our country at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Lukyanov Receives Burmese Envoy's Credentials

BK1012113088 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Text] U Tin Tun, Burmese ambassador to the Soviet Union, presented his credentials to Soviet Deputy Chairman Lukyanov yesterday.

Speaking at the ceremony for presentation of credentials, the Burmese ambassador praised the Soviet policy toward Burma and spoke on expansion of Burmese-Soviet bilateral relations. He said the friendly relations and mutual understanding between the two countries are growing.

Soviet Deputy Chairman Lukyanov said the Soviet-Burmese relations are based on the principle of peaceful coexistence and mutual respect and expressed hope that the relations between the two countries would grow further.

The Soviet deputy chairman said restructuring, or the reform and democratization process, is being implemented in the Soviet Union. He said, as mentioned in President Gorbachev's 7 December speech at the United Nations General Assembly, that the situation in the Asia-Pacific region has improved, and that prospects are good for further improvement in international cooperation.

Commentary on Trade Relations With Thailand

BK0912125388 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1100 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Unattributed commentary: "Soviet-Thai Relations."]

[Text] Of late there have been distinctively positive changes in the Soviet-Thai relations. There are many reliable factors indicating that this trend will continue to furthur develop. First of all, we can refer to the summit talks between the Soviet Union and Thailand last May. The talks were held in accordance with the framework of the Soviet foreign policy aimed at expanding political negotiations and cooperation with every country, with a view to searching various methods to handle important international issues.

It has been noted by both Moscow and Bangkok that leaders of delegations to the summit expressed similar attitudes toward how to look at and tackle problems. Of course, this is quite a good sign showing that the basic principle of the modern political line of thinking on international affairs is being put into action.

Certainly, both sides cannot have the same attitude on every matter. The Soviet Union and the Kingdom of Thailand differ in social system and ideology, but tend to have one thing in common, as stated in a Soviet-Thai joint communique, in trying to establish lasting peace, security, and safety, particularly for the Asia-Pacific region, in which conflicts still remain. Thailand has expressed support for Soviet peace initiatives, while the Soviet Union also understands ASEAN initiatives to establish a nuclear-free zone of peace, independence and neutrality in the Southeast Asian region.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev said the Soviet Union highly values contributions made by the ASEAN member countries to the settlement of international and regional problems.

Turning to the progress of activities involving the Cambodian problem, the informal talks in Bogor, Indonesia and the talks in Paris are important milestones of a positive movement at present. Importantly, in the Soviet-Chinese talks recently held in Moscow, both sides attained mutual understanding in connection with the Cambodian issue. THE NATION newspaper published in Bangkok remarks on this matter that Thailand is satisfied with the news that both the leading Soviet and Chinese circles are seriously paying attention to eliminating differences of attitude on both sides toward the Cambodian conflict. The newspaper also pointed out that the progress in normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China is good news for Thailand and the whole of Southeast Asia.

Changes in the international atmosphere, as well as the movement taking place in the Soviet Union, play their parts in prompting development and expansion of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Thailand in various fields. For example, there are more possibilities for making use of opportunities, and unprecedented means for trade and cooperation between the two nations. Many obstacles and barriers, which previously impeded development of trade, have been removed. Such operations will bear fruit in due time. For example, the Soviet exports to Thailand in 1987 increased by two and a half times. That is not all; Thailand has proposed guidelines for setting up joint-venture companies for wood processing and fishing industries.

During the Soviet-Thai summit in Moscow, both sides expressed hope that the relations between the two countries would continue to improve, for it will help reveal their similar attitude toward development of bilateral relations which benefit both countries. It seems that these opportunities and means perfectly match with the interests of the peoples of both countries.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze To Visit Japan, DPRK, Philippines

LD1312223988 Moscow TASS in English 2152 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 14—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, will pay visits to Japan, the Philippines and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the latter half of December 1988.

Vorontsov Briefs Najibullah on Al-Ta'if Talks

PM1312132588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

["PDPA Central Committee Politburo Session"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Yuliy Vorontsov, Soviet first deputy foreign minister and ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan, has had a meeting with President Najibullah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). He gave the Afghan leader detailed information on the talks he held with the Peshawar-based Afghan opposition ("the Alliance of Seven") at Al-Ta'if, Saudi Arabia, early in December.

The Afghan president in turn informed a meeting of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo about the Al-Ta'if negotiations. The Politburo, according to BAKHTAR, described the meeting in Saudi Arabia as a result of the

joint policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan to stop the bloodshed and restore peace in the country. It noted that Yuliy Vorontsov's talks with representatives of the "Alliance of Seven" were fully in keeping with the principles of the policy of national reconciliation, and that they were an important landmark on the road from military confrontation to a political settlement.

The Politburo expressed full support for the ideas contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech to the UN General Assembly session. It also pointed out that the new proposals, aimed at attaining a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan, were a constructive step forward and that their realization could promote peace and security in Afghanistan.

Diplomat Comments on Talks

LD1412122088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1120 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 14 Dec (TASS)—Settling the situation concerning Afghanistan through calm dialogue and mutual compromises—this is a concrete manifestation of the new thinking in resolving the Afghan problem. And so, the main thing now is to act so as not to break off the dialogue that has been begun, Vladimir Avigdor, a representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry, stated in an interview with the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. He had been a member of the Soviet delegation at the meeting in Al-Ta'if (Saudi Arabia) with Afghan opposition representatives which was held at the end of last week.

He writes that both sides at this meeting had tried to find points of contact on practically all matters concerning a settlement to the situation surrounding Afghanistan. All of the actions of the Soviet delegation, the diplomat stressed, were agreed upon with Afghan President Najibullah.

In his words, the initiative for holding the meeting in Al-Ta'if had belonged entirely to the Saudi Arabian Government. But the Soviet side had responded to its offer readily, because such a meeting opens up new paths for a political settlement. The Soviet Union is now using any opportunity to stop the bloodshed in Afghanistan and to promote the creation of a government on the broadest base.

It is still too early to speak of the results of the meeting in Al-Ta'if, for the dialogue is still far from finished, said the Soviet diplomat. By mutual accord the second meeting between representatives of the USSR and the Afghan opposition will be held in the very near future. A specific time for holding it is to be reported by the Afghan opposition representatives.

The question of releasing Soviet servicemen who have been captured by the Afghan opposition was also touched on at the meeting, Vladimir Avigdor reported. The Afghan opposition representatives listened to the Soviet proposals on prisoners of war, and stated that they intend to conduct discussions on this matter at talks with the Soviet Embassy in Pakistan. One such round of talks has already been held, in Islamabad on 7 December.

Comparison of Shevardnadze-Wakil Meeting

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 13 December carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on the 12 December meeting in Moscow between USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and Afghan Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil. The PRAVDA report, entitled "Ministers' Meeting," has been compared with the Moscow TASS International Service Russian version published in the 13 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 10, revealing the following variations:

Second paragraph, second sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...support for Mikhail Gorbachev's idea of combining this with the cessation of supplies of arms to all the... (substituting "idea of combining this with the cessation of supplies of arms" for "proposal linked with this idea concerning the supply of arms")

Fourth paragraph, only sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...the Afghan emigres.

The coinciding opinion was expressed... (adding word "coinciding")

PLO's 'Arafat Addresses UN General Assembly

LD1312214288 Moscow TASS in English 2027 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Geneva December 13 TASS—Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation Executive Committee, addressed a meeting of the U.N. General Assembly session here. He underscored the need for an early settlement of the conflict in the Middle East and stated that the Arab people of Palestine wanted to live in peace with all of their neighbours.

"Our people, who want dignity, freedom and peace for themselves and security for their state, want the same things for all the states and parties involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict", 'Arafat said.

The Palestinian leader presented a plan for solving the Palestinian problem. It involves immediate preparations for holding an international conference for peace in the Middle East and also deployment of U.N. international forces on the Israeli-occupied Arab territories to supervise the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from those lands. Under the plan, "a comprehensive settlement among the parties concerned in the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the state of Palestine, Israel and other neighbours" should "guarantee the right to exist in peace and security for all".

'Arafat invited Israeli leaders to come to Geneva to begin under the sponsorship of the United Nations talks on bringing lasting peace to the region.

'Arafat denounced terrorism in all of its forms and manifestations, including state terrorism.

He expressed gratitude to all states which supported and welcomed the decisions adopted by the session of the Palestine National Council held in the Algerian capital in November. This session is known to have declared the creation of the independent Palestinian state.

At the same time 'Arafat expressed regret that the American Government continued to back Israel's "aggressive and expansionist schemes", and refused to recognize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

Address Termed 'Very Important'

JN1412074888 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0700 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 14 Dec (WAKH)—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Petrovskiy has said that PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat's address to the UN General Assembly includes a very important initiative that opens the door for peace.

In a statement to the newspaper AL-ITTIHAD published here today, he said that there is now a unique opportunity to begin the process of a comprehensive peace in the Middle East, and to translate words and principles into deeds and action to achieve peace in the Middle East.

Petrovskiy added that the USSR supports 'Arafat's initiative and considers it important, and that it paves the way for peace. He expressed his country's readiness to immediately participate in work to convene the preparatory committee at the level of the five big powers to hold the international conference. He said that 'Arafat's address and the initiatives that it includes should receive the response of others and pave the way for peace.

Lukyanov Receives PDRY Ambassador 13 Dec

LD1312113988 Moscow TASS in English 1100 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Today Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received Abdallah 'Abd al-Ilah, ambassador of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen to the USSR, at his request. During the meeting, the sides discussed several topical questions of bilateral relations and cooperation as well as several international problems.

Parliamentary Delegation Leaves for Middle East

LD1212130488 Moscow TASS in English 1219 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 12 TASS—A delegation from the USSR parliamentary group led by Rafik Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee and deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, departed from Moscow today. It will visit Syria, Jordan and Iraq at the invitation of the Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Cuba-Angola-RSA Brazzaville Accord Signed

LD1312185388 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Brazzaville December 13 TASS—The delegation of Angola, Cuba and South Africa with the mediation of the United States signed an accord on settlement in South West Africa in the Congolese capital of Brazzaville on Tuesday.

The document sets April 1 as the date to begin decolonization of Namibia occupied by South Africa on the basis of U.N. Security Council Resolution 435. The withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, to be monitored by U.N. Security Council, should be completed 27 months later.

The "Brazzaville accord" opens the way towards a final treaty between participants in South West Africa talks to be signed in New York. The date of the signing is still unknown.

Dos Santos, Nujoma Comment

LD1312185788 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Luanda December 13 TASS—The implementation of the UN Security Council's Resolution 435 on decolonisation of Namibia should begin in April next year, said a statement issued by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of the People's Republic of Angola (PRA) and circulated here on Sunday [11 December].

Active consultations have been held between Angola, Cuba and the Republic of South Africa with U.S. mediation over the past four days, the statement said. As a result, the parties succeeded in settling all unresolved issues and in overcoming all obstacles to the signing of a protocol in Brazzaville within the framework of the quadripartite talks on a settlement of the situation in southwest Africa.

The Angolan president pointed out that a withdrawal of the Cuban internationalists from Angola within the established timeframe would require approximately 800 million dollars.

Angola and Cuba which experience financial difficulties cannot afford to bear such expenses. This is why we are calling on the international community to ensure the necessary support in the accomplishment of this task, he stated.

Upon the beginning of implementation of Resolution 435 we must focus attention on a search for ways leading to a settlement of the conflict inside the country, the PRA leader emphasized. The principles for resolving it are respect for the Constitution on the part of all Angolans, loyalty to the government, and an end to violence.

There are Angolans who decided to take up arms and overthrow the government with support from the outside, Jose Eduardo dos Santos said. We believe that it is not too late to win them back to society. The government is making yet another step towards those people: A law on amnesty and on abolition of death penalty for those sentenced to capital punishment will be adopted soon in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the name of achieving national harmony in the country. Such a law will enable those who directly or indirectly, inside the country or outside it, incite to violence or participate in violent actions against the people and the state, to return to peaceful life.

At the same time we should not forget that an armed fight is being conducted against us. Our right and duty is to defend the people's achievements arms in hand and to rout the enemy, the head of state emphasized.

Paris December 13 TASS—Pretoria will not be able infinitely to drag out the implementation of the UN Security Council's Resolution 435 on the granting of independence to Namibia, Sam Nujoma, president of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), stated in an interview published in the Paris newspaper LE MONDE today. The current political manoeuvres of the Republic of South Africa are accounted for by a desire to form a united front out of its puppets and to give them time to prepare for an election which is provided for by the UN plan for Namibia.

Several months ago SWAPO ceased combat operations against the regime of apartheid, Sam Nujoma pointed out. But military operations against South Africa will be resumed if it continues to hinder the process of peaceful settlement.

Upon gaining independence, Namibia will become a non-aligned state, the SWAPO president emphasized. We shall not impose anything: The people themselves will tackle all matters pertaining to a political set-up.

Sam Nujoma also pointed out that the Walvis Bay port is an inalienable part of Namibian territory.

Commentary Views Agreement

LD1312213488 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] With United States' mediation, Angola, Cuba, and South Africa have signed in Brazzaville a protocol to the agreement for southwest Africa. Under the agreement, action on the United Nations Security Council's Resolution 435 to withdraw South African troops from Namibia is to begin on 1 April next year. Here's more from Aleksandr Volkov:

[Volkov] For a long time South Africa torpedoed understandings on southwest Africa on the pretext of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. Luanda and Havana have met South Africa halfway when they agreed to pull out 3,000 Cuban soldiers from Angola by 1 April. By 1 August all Cuban troops will be withdrawn by 200 miles, or 320 km, north of the Namibian border, with half of the Cuban soldiers to leave Angola by September. The rest will be withdrawn by July 1991.

Angola and Cuba said they intended to abide by all undertaken commitments. But the South African position is causing concern. Pretoria may try to mark time to give power in Namibia to its own men.

Anyway, the protocol has been signed. The final agreement for southwest Africa is to be signed on the 22d. If it is signed, Africa will have gotten rid of the last colony by the end of next year.

But we are probably getting ahead of ourselves. The settlement of this situation in southwest Africa is only entering the key phase. Many obstacles remain to overcome on its way. And (?doing that) is not so simple.

Official Says Aid to Africa Not Diminishing

LD0512230588 Moscow International Service in French 1900 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Excerpts] A Soviet parliamentary delegation has just paid an official visit to Senegal, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau. Our colleague [not further identified] asked Aleksandr Mokanu, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and who led the delegation, to give his impressions of the visit:

[Begin Mokanu recording in Russian fading into French translation] It was a very useful visit, said Aleksandr Mokanu. We saw a lot and met the leaders of these countries. In Senegal, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau, we had meetings with the presidents, various ministers, and parliamentary deputies. All these countries attached very great importance to our visit. [passage omitted] The meetings and talks that we had with our African colleagues gave rise to an exchange of views on problems of universal importance—I am speaking above all of the prevention of a nuclear conflict, the halting of the arms race, real disarmament, international peace and security, and social and economic progress.

We noted that the Africans are very closely following the efforts undertaken by the Soviet Union to maintain peace and that our peace proposals find a very positive reception. The African countries thus rally to the new form of political thinking practiced by the Soviet Union on the international scene and our concept of the close correlation between disarmament and development. Great interest was expressed in the Soviet Union's position on the major problems of Africa, such as the situation in southern Africa, the solution of various regional conflicts, and the increase in aid to the African peoples in their fight for freedom and independence. We stressed that the Soviet Union attaches great importance to Africa's problems and that we are very aware of African affairs because most of the African countries are our friends.

We were asked many questions, particularly at a news conference, about whether Soviet aid to the African countries is decreasing. We explained that Soviet aid to African remains stable and that in this area the Soviet Union puts emphasis on training—a large number of young Africans carry out their studies at our universities. It is above all serious aid which give specific and tangible results. We were more than once told the African proverb that states: True aid is not giving a fish to a starving man to eat, but rather teaching him to fish. We give the African countries considerable material aid. We lend help in the construction of large economic projects. Over the last 2 years alone the African countries have received aid from the Soviet Union totalling more than $3 billion. The Soviet Union has also agreed to reschedule $6.5 billion of Africa's debt, and we have no intention of reducing our aid to Africa.

There are also real means of increasing this aid. This is a matter of the ultimate reduction in arms. As we have already proposed on several occasions, all resources released in this way could go as aid to the developing countries. The African countries also have a part to play in the fight for disarmament; this fight must be carried out more actively, and we found complete understanding on these matters. [passage omitted]

I believe that our visit was a success. We got many useful things out of it, and the main thing is that we established new contacts. Let us hope that this visit marked a step toward rapprochement, better mutual understanding, and that it contributed to the common fight for peace and trust between peoples. [end recording]

Kenyan President Receives Astrauskas, Delegation

LD1312233988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1745 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Nairobi, 13 Dec (TASS)—Today Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi received a Soviet Government delegation headed by V.S. Astrauskas, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. It is here to celebrate Kenya's 25th independence anniversary.

In the course of their friendly conversation, mutual interest was expressed in the development of bilateral cooperation in a series of sectors. The international situation was also discussed. The Kenyan president praised the USSR's foreign policy.

East Europe

Hungarian Political Restructuring Viewed

PM1312134588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[Article by own correspondent V. Gerasimov under the "We Answer Readers" rubric: "Restructuring in Hungary"—first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] "...People are still asking whether the Bulgarians, Poles, and Hungarians are restructuring and, if so, how? But you rarely find anything in the newspapers." (V. Potapovov, propagandist, Novosibirsk).

"What is happening in general in our community? Have matters really reached 'crisis' in Hungary?" (V.G. Semenova, Ivanovo).

PRAVDA's mail contains other letters with similar questions and similar in tone. We asked our correspondent in Hungary to reply.

Budapest, December—It is a tight bend, but there is no slowing down. Since the all-Hungarian party conference the extensive restructuring of the economy and political institutions has been gathering momentum.

...It was the last day of November. The semicircle of the amphitheater, the stalls, and the podium for the presidium were illuminated by powerful floodlights. Budapest's Palace of Sports was gradually filling: More than 10,000 Communists and representatives of the Patriotic People's Front and trade union and youth organizations were taking their seats. A workers' militia choir was singing songs of the Great October Revolution and the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919. Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP, then came to the rostrum. He said that Hungary had something to be proud of, something to defend from the attacks of the small but vociferous number of people who today declare themselves as antisocialist forces. The MSZMP and society are heading in the right direction, but the path is difficult.

Yes, Hungarian restructuring is testing the strength of the party and socialist society as a whole as it negotiates this tight bend. The resolute attempt to catch up with technologically advanced countries has, people here think, run up against the outmoded structure of production and poorly competitive goods. Expensive machinery acquired with foreign currency or through loans is often operated for only 1-1.5 shifts. Enormous resources are still being spent subsidizing loss-making concerns.

The closure of bankrupt enterprises is generating unemployment and the removal of subsidies entails higher prices. This is all fueling still further social tension. Yet the set goal of creating a socialist market economy that provides incentives for work and creativity remains paramount for the party, the new government, and the working people of Hungary.

Another facet of this "test of strength" is found in the sphere of political institutions. The party is switching to a decentralized decision-making mechanism. The Hungarian National Assembly has already begun to monitor the government's work more effectively. In the past (1949 through 1985) parliament only once rejected a minister's answer to a deputy's question, whereas the new parliamentary regulations now under discussion provide for a vote of confidence. In the event of mistakes or shoddy work by particular ministers (or the government as a whole) a vote of no confidence is not ruled out. Draft laws are being discussed right now in two stages, during which amendments and adjustments will be made.

Thanks to the development of glasnost and extensive public monitoring of the management apparatus there is ever-increasing scope for different interests and views to be contrasted. The opportunity to express critical opinions that diverge from the standpoint of the leaders of the country and party is being enshrined in law. Pluralist political relations—which, incidentally, the party was not sufficiently ready for—are being established according to many here. I am compiling a file at the correspondents' center of Hungarian press articles on the reemerging unions, clubs, groups, and public associations. It grows before one's eyes. Rezso Nyers, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and minister of state, and well-known writers and political experts have become the organizers of one of these movements. It is the New March Front (as a point of information, 15 March marks here the beginning of the 1848 Revolution, headed by L. Kossuth. The March Front, which united communists, members of the underground, and the progressive intelligentsia, existed for a short while during the war). To judge by their statements, the March Front's organizers see their goal as discussing urgent problems affecting Hungarian society and elaborating proposals that will help strengthen socialism and advance the cause of the reforms. The members of the Hungarian democratic forum are acutely critical of the situation in the country and the work of the government. The forum is in favor of a multiparty system while declaring that it does not itself seek to become a party and does not consider itself an opposition organization. The MSZMP is conducting a dialogue with this organization along with the union of young democrats, members of the civic initiatives' network, and the Social Democratic Party that is now demanding legalization.

"There exists between the convinced communists and the extreme reactionaries a stratum on which one must really be able to rely in any political situation," Karel Grosz said in the Palace of Sports. "This stratum may also include those who do not see the Hungarian people's future as lying on the path of socialism.... The MSZMP must not fight this variegated stratum but must try daily to win it over to its policy."

The union of free democrats, which considers itself the successor to Imre Nagy, the politician responsible for the tragic events in the fall of 1956, collects membership dues and creates groups at local level. Associations and groups of this kind are ideologically countered by the Marxist Left alternative, a group calling itself the Party of Hungarian Communists, the Ferenc Myunnikh [name as transliterated] Society, the young people's organization—the Union for Democratic Socialism—and a number of other organizations and clubs.

Disputes have arisen about the multiparty system, and they have become particularly acute regarding discussion of Hungary's draft new constitution. Communists consider that there is no actual political necessity for the existence of different parties in the conditions that apply in Hungary. The country's problems—irrespective of whether the multiparty system is legalized or not—will remain the same. Under present-day circumstances the multiparty system could only hamper their solution. But from a legal standpoint this possibility cannot be rejected. The MSZMP general secretary said the following, among other things, at the Palace of Sports:

"I am convinced that our constitution will, in accordance with the people's wish, be socialist. Consequently the parties opposed to socialism will not obtain the freedom or opportunity to operate. The MSZMP will continue to wage an open struggle against extreme right, reactionary forces."

The confirmation of laws on public associations and demonstrations and rules on the holding of meetings and processions is expected at the end of the year. It is calculated that 20 demonstrations were held in Budapest in 1988. One of the biggest demanded a halt to the construction of a hydroengineering complex on the Danube.

At that time I was able to meet with many party workers. The reform movement's progress is not without pain, conflicts or contradictions, interlocutors observed. Criticism of the past, of the exaggerations that occured then, and dissatisfaction with what has been accomplished all influence the mood. The party decided not to "tinker" with the old political system but to create a quite new one that corresponds better to the ideals of socialism. No easy task! Incidentally, there are even among Communists those who feel unsteady—they fear the loss of socialist gains. That is why the unity of all those who are ready to accept the renewal program in order that the homeland may prosper is one of today's chief tasks.

I am opposed to the term "crisis" being applied to the present situation in Hungary. Yes, there is evidence on hand of economic and social tension. But that is inevitable in the ferment of restructuring. There is no political crisis in Hungary. Although it must be recognized that the party's authority has waned in certain strata of the population. But a political crisis may become possible, it is thought here, if the broad public does not accept the MSZMP leadership's new aspirations. To avoid this, a course of involving the whole nation in tackling the new tasks has been set. Party organs are seeking to renew their style and methods of work.

The barometer of political feelings is not indicating "calm." Everyone is concerned about the future. And the MSZMP as a Marxist-Leninist internationalist party has assumed the historic responsibility of steering the country out of the tight bend onto the straight highway of effective socioeconomic development.

Murakhovskiy Receives CSSR Agriculture Minister

PM1312153988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] On 12 December V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, received J. Algayer, CSSR minister of agriculture and food.

An exchange of opinions on expanding and deepening bilateral cooperation in various spheres of the agro-industrial complex took place during their conversation.

Slovakia's Janak Arrives for Meetings in Kiev

AU1212105288 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 7 Dec 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "Friendly Meetings in the Ukraine's Capital City"]

[Text] On 6 December I. Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CPSL Central Committee first secretary, who is on a working visit to the Soviet Union, arrived in Kiev. The visitor was welcomed by Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; and A.V. Merkulov, department chief in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

The CPSL Central Committee first secretary visited the Higher Party School in Kiev. The Slovak comrades inspected the "Ukrainian State Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War 1941-45" memorial complex.

I. Janak and the persons accompanying him laid flowers at the monument to V.I. Lenin. The guests visited the Park of Eternal Glory and laid a wreath at the Grave of the Unknown Soldier. Wreaths were also laid at the graves of Czechoslovak and Soviet soldiers who fell in the battles against the German fascist occupiers and are buried in Lukyanovka cemetery.

On the same day V.G. Urchukin, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, received S. Murin, Slovak Council of Ministers first deputy chairman.

In the evening the Slovak comrades were present at a show in the T.G. Shevchenko State Academic Opera and Ballet House.

Shcherbitskiy Meets With Janak

AU1212105188 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 7 Dec 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "A Conversation in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] On 6 December V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, met I. Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Member and CPSL Central Committee first secretary, who was in the Soviet Union on a working visit.

During a warm comradely conversation V.V. Shcherbitskiy gave an account of the activity of the republic's party organizations in implementing the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, and the July and November (1988) CPSU Central Committee plenums. The Soviet Ukraine's Communists and wide public regard the laws on amendments and supplements to the USSR Constitution, approved by the CPSU Central Committee plenum and passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet session, as documents of great importance at the first stage of reform in the country's political system. Party organizations are restructuring organizational party and ideological work, and getting rid of the command-and-order style. The accountability and election campaign, which is now taking place in party organizations, is evidence of democratization in internal party life.

In the national economy, economic management methods are taking root, economic accountability is deepening, and family and leasing contracting is gaining ground. As a result of reorienting the economy toward the settlement of social problems, the construction of houses, schools, medical, cultural, and service facilities has accelerated. An increase in the production of food and consumer goods is constantly in the field of vision of party organizations. More attention has been paid to ecological problems.

I. Janak reported the progress made in Slovakia in implementing the decisions of recent CPCZ Central Committee plenums, which marked an important political line in Czechoslovak restructuring. The CPCZ considers that the outstanding tasks facing the country are to

be accomplished by reforming the economic mechanism and by actively engaging the workers class, the peasantry, the scientific, technical, and creative intelligentsia, and youth in restructuring.

During the conversation both sides noted with satisfaction that the program signed recently in Prague for ideological cooperation between the CPSU and the CPCZ had expanded opportunities for invigorating the exchanges of experiences and promoting cooperation among party committees in the sphere of social superstructure in both fraternal countries, and that it would enhance Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship.

In connection with constant links established between the Ukrainian SSR and the Slovak Socialist Republic along parliamentary and government lines, much attention was paid in the conversation to questions concerning the development of economic, scientific-technological, and cultural cooperation between the two republics.

Those participating in the conversation were Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; A.I. Korniyenko and A.V. Merkulov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee members and department chiefs; S. Murin, CPSL Central Committee member and Slovak Council of Ministers first deputy chairman; J. Selecky and J. Cillag, CPSL Central Committee members and department chiefs; J. Laska, CPSL Central Committee member and International Politics Department deputy chief; and M. Kovac, CSSR consul general in Kiev.

Lukyanov Receives Markov, Bulgarian Delegation

PM1212152588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Experience"]

[Text] A group of working people from the Bulgarian National Assembly apparatus led by M. Markov, head of cabinet of the National Assembly, was in Moscow on 5-9 December.

It was received by A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Conversations were held with T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in the secretariat and departments of the presidium, and at the editorial offices of IZVESTIYA and the journal SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV. The Bulgarian comrades were acquainted with the work of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

During the conversations, the guests were briefed on the Soviet process of radically restructuring all aspects of life in Soviet society and on the implementation of political reform. They were told about the work of local soviets to resolve the tasks of the country's socioeconomic development and improve local self-government.

Experience of practical work by the apparatus of Soviet and Bulgarian representative bodies was exchanged.

Gdansk 'Hooligans' Attempt To Provoke Riots

LD1212224488 Moscow TASS in English 2200 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw December 13 TASS—Last Sunday a group of hooligans numbering from 200 to 300 attempted to provoke street riots in Gdansk. As the PAP NEWS AGENCY reports, they used for their ends the prayer in the local St. Brigida temple. The hooligans shouted the slogans "There is no freedom without 'Solidarity'", "down with the commune", and stoned a local militia station.

The rioters dispersed after units of militia had arrived on the scene.

The Sunday riots in Gdansk, the "RZECZPOSPOLITA" newspaper says, indicate that such actions of the opposition which is staking on confrontation are a losing battle against the backdrop of the constructive programs carried out in Poland, and society's expectations.

West Europe

Gorbachev Sends Condolences on London Rail Crash

LD1412111188 Moscow TASS in English 1104 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev has sent a telegram to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain expressing condolences over a railway accident near London involving the loss of life. "Mourning the Armenian tragedy, we take especially close to heart the suffering of others and feel most keenly the significance of the solidarity of all mankind," the telegram said.

Gorbachev expressed most heartfelt sympathy to the victims, to families and relatives of the deceased.

British World Role, Ties With USSR Viewed

PM1412104788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[PRAVDA special correspondent T. Kolesnichenko "Letter From London": "Britain Today"]

[Text] Political life is buzzing in Britain at the moment. The local papers, television, and radio are commenting extensively on domestic issues and on global issues, as they say: East-West dialogue, Britain and the EEC, European disarmament, and regional conflicts.

The question of Britain's role and place in European politics occupies an important place in this debate. And this should not cause surprise, because we are talking about a substantial shift of accent in London's traditional approach to world problems. Indeed, it has always been harder for Britons to "swim" the Channel, which separates the country from the continent, than to strike out "East of Suez." But when time dealt in its own way with London's "Eastern policy" by relieving it of its overseas territories, the slogan "Britannia rules the waves," by an irony of history, began to sound like the anthem of an island politically isolated from the outside world.

Today, although many elements of the "East of Suez" policy are returning, Britain's European interests clearly take precedence. This is due to a whole series of objective and subjective facts. First, Europe itself is to "blame." The other day Colin Powell, the U.S. President's national security assistant, said at a Washington conference at the institute for foreign policy analysis, with a degree of sadness, that the "American century is coming to a close." We are not going to discuss with the new "four-star" U.S. general the essential meaning of the formula, but the fact remains that Western Europe is more and more intent on ridding itself of the syndrome of assiduous student at the American school and poor relative to the rich transatlantic cousin. It is not only "on its feet" economically, but is rapidly gaining political weight.

The idea of a "united Europe" is also establishing its own new "table of ranks" among its participants. This raises the question of Britain, which was not among the countries that signed the Treaty of Rome in 1957 on setting up the Common Market. It joined it much later, which initially put it an a disadvantage. Now Britain is not only "catching up" its "friends and rivals" in the EEC, but wants to be leader, or, as they modestly write here, to be first among equals.

Britain's claims to the role of a major world center are reinforced today by both economic and political factors. The Thatcher government's drastic reshaping and modernization of the economy has led to a marked increase in business activity. And although by no means all is well in Britain (unemployment, for example, still exceeds 2 million), it must be said that both last year and this year the increases in the Gross National Product and industrial production have exceeded the most optimistic forecasts, comprising 4.4 and 3.2 percent, respectively. This is the highest indicator in Western Europe. Inflation has fallen, labor productivity has increased, and the pound sterling has strengthened.

Britain is also amassing "political points" rapidly. They make no secret here of the fact that Margaret Thatcher, as the senior government head in the NATO countries in terms of the length of time she has been in power, would very much like to try on the "crown of leader of the Western world," which U.S. President R. Reagan is about to doff. Many people see the "inheritance" differently—some insist that she remains the "custodian" of conservatism, of the idea of "Atlantic solidarity," of the special relationship with the United States. Others note the objective opportunity opening up to Thatcher of using the experience and political authority she has accumulated to promote East-West dialogue, which has become the imperative of the times.

Attention is also drawn to the fact that Thatcher was one of the first Western leaders to detect the Soviet Union's transition to a qualitatively new state. When receiving M.S. Gorbachev in London in December 1984, with her innate political acumen she not only discerned the new spirit in Soviet society, but also realized that there were forces in the Soviet leadership capable of elaborating and implementing a fundamentally new political course.

Thatcher backed our restructuring, not, of course, for philanthropic reasons. It is perfectly clear that she views the processes taking place in our country from her own positions, which include class positions. But something else is evident too. The decades of military political confrontation with the Soviet Union have not strengthened Britain's foreign policy positions one bit, not to mention the country's security. Moreover, in conditions of the nuclear arms race and the conflict character of relations between East and West, both were in jeopardy. The great openness and willingness to conduct a dialogue and take mutual interests into account, which have been typical features of the USSR's activity in the world arena in recent years, gave her the opportunity to review many aspects of Britain's relations with the Soviet Union.

And although, to be frank, since 1984 it has lost the palm of reinterpretation of the character of East-West relations, and new thinking does not come easy to the conservative M. Thatcher, she intends today, to use her own words, to "go on and on."

Time will tell how this turns out. But the British prime minister evidently does not intend to wait for 1993 and the opening of the railroad tunnel under the Channel, but intends to "swim" it now. The European course, acquiring, as it is, special, independent significance in British policy, is determining its new approach to disarmament problems on our continent. While continuing to advocate the further buildup of Britain's existing nuclear weapons, which she regards as a "stabilizing factor," the resident of No 10 Downing Street welcomes the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. While advocating stronger links with the United States, Britain is advocating a bigger role for Western Europe in the East-West dialogue, and its greater independence. It is for a "united Europe," but at the moment it does not support the idea of an "all-European home." As you can see, things are not all straightforward; they are complex and sometimes contradictory. But for all that, there is definitely a constructive component in British policy today. And this creates additional opportunities for direct political dialogue between our two countries.

That is why such great importance was attached here to M.S. Gorbachev's expected visit to Britain.

The dynamic Soviet-British dialogue is developing in various directions. There is fruitful discussion of problems of European security, collaboration in the solution of problems of limiting and reducing conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, the final elaboration of a convention banning chemical weapons, and also the question of their destruction, and the strengthening of confidence-building and security measures in Europe.

Our bilateral relations are not marking time either. In recent years they have been packed with state and parliamentary visits, a wide range of substantive political consultations, the designation by legal treaty of new areas of collaboration and cooperation, and an upturn in cultural links between the two countries. This can be illustrated by just a few documents demonstrating the breadth of the process: an agreement on preventing incidents at sea outside territorial waters, an agreement on settling mutual property and financial claims, a memorandum on cooperation in the sphere of information, education, and culture, and an agreement on cooperation in the peaceful study of outer space. Thus, Soviet-British relations in the latter half of the eighties are based not only on declarations and political statements, no matter how important they may be in themselves, but also on concrete practical accords of a mutually advantageous nature.

We have made less progress in the sphere of trade and economic cooperation. Although here, too, there have been marked advances, both in terms of the volume of trade and in terms of introducing new forms of collaboration. But it would be fair to say that not only the British side is to blame for this. In conversations with representatives of various firms we were saddened to hear that many of our joint projects and plans to set up joint enterprises and so forth have not been implemented simply because some of our ministries are still dragging their feet and are not making concrete decisions. Where they have tackled the matter they have been successful.

When you are in London you can see that the positive changes are not going unnoticed. Judging by the result of a public opinion poll conducted by the newspaper THE OBSERVER the other day, M.S. Gorbachev is the most respected foreign leader in Britain. Some 44 percent of those questioned voted for the Soviet leader; R. Reagan received 23 percent of the votes. To the question who is capable of making a weightier contribution to peace in the future—M.S. Gorbachev or U.S. President-elect G. Bush—60 percent chose the Soviet people and only 18 percent G. Bush.

The day after M.S. Gorbachev's UN address all the British papers printed big headlines commenting on the new Soviet initiatives. Here are just a few of the biggest banner headlines: THE TIMES: "Gorbachev proclaims a new era." THE INDEPENDENT: "Gorbachev's peace initiatives. A speech that will go down in history." THE GUARDIAN: "A new Gorbachev era." They also printed official reactions. They all welcomed the Soviet initiative as important and constructive. Prime Minister M. Thatcher sees it as an important step in the direction of establishing a balance of power in Europe. Labor leader Kinnock said: "It is a splendid initiative, which not only relates to the balance of power in Europe, but is also an important measure in the establishment of trust between East and West."

It was with enormous disappointment that Britain learned that M.S. Gorbachev's visit to London was being postponed because of the tragedy in Armenia. Speaking on the BBC, Prime Minister M. Thatcher said that she personally and all Britons deeply regret it, as they were ready to give the Soviet leader a very warm welcome. But they appreciate that M.S. Gorbachev must be with his people at this difficult time.

Summing up the situation, the press writes that it is not only grief that unites people. Since M.S. Gorbachev's UN address, which was a striking manifestation of the new political thinking, people are more aware of themselves as earth-dwellers and they have become closer to one another.

Indian Paper Interviews Thatcher on USSR

LD0812115888 Moscow TASS in English 0936 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] New Delhi December 8 TASS—"Mr Gorbachev's reforms are bold and we most sincerely hope that they succeed. It is in our interests that the Soviet Union should develop into a more open, prosperous and successful society competing with the rest of the world economically rather than militarily." This was stated by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in an exclusive TIMES OF INDIA interview. She underlined that changes in the Soviet Union led to a change in Western countries' relations with it, and create the need to change old habits of mind.

Touching upon the situation around Afghanistan, Margaret Thatcher said that once the Soviet troops have finally been withdrawn, we all will have a role in providing assistance for resettlement of the refugees and for reconstruction efforts. We have pledged a contribution and I know that India has also undertaken to help, said Margaret Thatcher.

The British prime minister said there were serious differences in Britain's and India's approach to the problem of liquidation of the apartheid regime in South Africa. The British Government is against impostion of mandatory sanctions against South Africa, considering them inefficient, she said.

Margaret Thatcher said that Britain and India had different views on a number of problems, including the anti-Indian designs of Sikh separatists operating from Britain.

Extract From Book on Thatcher Published

PM1412105388 [Editorial Report] Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 50, 9-15 December 1988 (Signed to Press 8 December 1988) carries on pages 8-11 under the rubric "Political Portrait" and under the headline "'Mrs Thatcher's Revolution'" an 8,000-word extract from Peter Jenkins' book "Mrs Thatcher's Revolution," published in London by Jonathan Cape in 1987. The extract focuses on her background and career, her political creed, and the effect of her policies in the domestic and international arena during her time as prime minister.

ZA RUBEZHOM also carries across the foot of pages 8 and 9, under the headline "The Symbols of Faith of the Occupant of 10, Downing Street," a 1,200-word "Marginal Notes" comment by Vladimir Skosyrev, member of the IZVESTIYA Editorial Collegium who worked as IZVESTIYA's own correspondent in Britain in 1979-1985.

Skosyrev picks up and discusses various points from the extract from Jenkins' book, and offers his explanations of the "Thatcher regime's durability" and the reasons why the Conservative Party has been able to defeat the Labour Party in three successive elections. Turning to foreign policy issues, Skosyrev concludes his remarks:

"When a turn for the better developed in Soviet-U.S. relations and the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles was signed, Thatcher approved it. She also speaks in favor of concluding an agreement on a 50-percent reduction of the USSR and U.S. strategic nuclear arsenals and other accords in the disarmament sphere. But what about the nuclear forces of NATO countries unaffected by the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles? On this matter the 'iron lady' remains committed to the militarist dogmas which took shape during 'cold war' times. Despite favorable changes in the political climate in Europe, she still speaks of the need for strong defenses and modernization of NATO's nuclear systems. This line runs contrary to the aspirations of most Europeans, who wish to see their continent free from nuclear weapons.

"Actually, it would be unfair to overlook the changes in the Tory leader's stance in the sphere of East-West relations. These changes are a direct result of restructuring and glasnost in our country. A committed anticommunist, seeing herself as Churchill's heir, she has repeatedly spoken of the positive influence exerted on the state of affairs in the world by the new thinking embodied in the Soviet leadership's policy. The expansion of Soviet-British contacts at all sorts of levels is a direct result of positive changes in the political climate.

"The pages of the book which cover M. Thatcher's discussions in the Soviet Union are filled with specific details and are very interesting. But the author has evidently sinned against truth by ascribing to the Soviet leader an intention to 'assist' Thatcher in the election campaign. Jenkins, as an experienced analyst, should have realized that Moscow offered the visitor a warm reception not because of the domestic political situation prevailing in Britain at that time but primarily because the strengthening of ties with this European power would serve to improve the international situation."

Credit Lyonnais President Interviewed

PM1312100188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Jean-Yves Haberer, president of Credit Lyonnais, by correspondent M. Yusin in Moscow: "Jean-Yves Haberer: 'New Contracts Are Lined Up'; President of World-Famous French Bank Credit Lyonnais Answers IZVESTIYA Correspondent's Questions"; date not given; final paragraph is IZVESTIYA note]

[Text] [Yusin] Mr Haberer, you have been a frequent guest of Moscow recently—this is your second visit in 2 weeks. Can we conclude from this that Credit Lyonnais is preparing major contracts with Soviet partners?

[Haberer] We are not only preparing contracts, we are signing them. Quite recently, for instance, an agreement was concluded on the creation of the largest Franco-Soviet joint enterprise. I am talking of the Kanaker plant in Armenia, which produces aluminum foil. It will be modernized with the aid of French technology and credits, and will subsequently continue the production of the packaging material that is in short supply, this time as a joint Soviet-French enterprise. After modernization it will produce 0.5 million tonnes of foil in 12 years. This is particularly important for your country as high-quality packaging materials help to resolve food problems, preventing food from spoiling before it reaches the consumer.

Pechiney, the world's largest packaging materials production firm, and a bank partnership headed by Credit Lyonnais are taking part in the enterprise's creation on the French side.

[Yusin] What is the specific expression of your bank's contribution to the joint enterprise?

[Haberer] We are acting in two capacities. First, as a shareholder: Credit Lyonnais' contribution to the enterprise's statutory fund is about 5 percent of the shares. And in addition we are providing substantial currency credits. This will make it possible to buy in the West the equipment necessary to modernize the enterprise.

[Yusin] Is Credit Lyonnais prepared to finance other joint enterprises, or is the Kanaker plant a kind of test balloon: Before thinking of new contracts you must make sure that it will be profitable and that your efforts have not been in vain?

[Haberer] In our world everything is changing so rapidly that we cannot allow ourselves to wait 4 years until modernized Kanaker begins to produce output and it is possible to judge its profitability. Credit Lyonnais is already discussing with Soviet partners the possibility of creating other joint enterprises—new contracts are lined up.

[Yusin] How did you assess the state of Franco-Soviet relations in the economic field?

[Haberer] Our cooperation has come to a standstill in recent years. It is annoying and hard to explain, but it is a fact. France—a traditional trading partner of both Russia and the Soviet Union—is being increasingly squeezed out by competitors from the FRG, Finland, and Italy....

Both our countries have enormous reserves for expanding cooperation, but they are being used only feebly. In terms of its economic indicators France is among the biggest world powers and ranks second in West Europe in terms of the volume of its GNP. Our country ranks fourth in the world among exporting countries. And at the same time in trade with the Soviet Union France is experiencing a chronic deficit. We purchase considerably more than we sell. That is surprising. Surely the Soviet market is not provided with everything we have to offer?

Serious efforts are now required from both sides to emerge from the deadlock. It is essential to display more initiative and flexibility. We must develop new forms of cooperation—joint enterprises are only one of these forms.

[Yusin] A report appeared in the press of France and other Western countries that the president of Credit Lyonnais is traveling to Moscow to sign an agreement on granting the Soviet Union a loan to boost the light and food industry. The sum was even mentioned—F12 billion.

[Haberer] Journalists, as sometimes happens, anticipated events. We are indeed conducting such talks but they were only begun recently and there is a very long way to go to the signing of documents. I would probably be more surprised than anyone if during this visit we succeeded in agreeing on everything. So far only a preliminary protocol has been signed on cooperation with the Foreign Economic Bank [Vneshekonombank]. It is still too early to speak of the conclusion of a contract, still more of a definitive sum.

[Yusin] The U.S. Administration, as is well known, is opposed to granting credits to the USSR. Here it puts forward the following argument: The Soviets will use Western money to boost their economy, then there will be a change of political course, a turn toward confrontation, and as a result the "free world" will be faced with a strengthened opponent who will direct his entire economic potential to the arms race.

[Haberer] I adhere to the view that in the field of relations with the Soviet Union the Americans are far from being the best experts.

[Yusin] The loans which West European banks have been granting the USSR recently are sometimes called "credits for restructuring." In the newspapers you can often encounter the following explanation: The West is eagerly granting aid thereby to promote the resurrection of our country's economy and consequently to ensure the success of the Soviet leadership's new course. What do you think on this score?

[Haberer] The fact that restructuring has given impetus to the development of ties between the USSR and the West is undoubted. And, of course, we are interested in the victory of restructuring. But I would not seek explanations for Western bankers' activeness only in the political field. We are not politicians, we are businessmen. And that is why we would hardly agree to undertake a particular step to our own detriment, without counting on finally obtaining a profit. And the influence of restructuring is manifested in the fact that thanks to it new horizons of mutually advantageous cooperation are opening up.

From IZVESTIYA's files

Credit Lyonnais (Lyons credit) is one of the biggest French banks and was founded in Lyons in 1863. Even before the revolution it cooperated actively with Russia. Some 16 years ago it was the first Western bank to open an office in Moscow.

Italy's Andreotti Assesses Gorbachev Initiative

LD1312161488 Moscow TASS in English 1557 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Rome December 13 TASS—Giulio Andreotti pointed to the importance of the Soviet initiative to reduce its armed forces, made by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Speaking in Milan, the Italian foreign minister noted that the policy of international detente had made marked progress in the past few years owing to the new striving for dialogue. Such improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States and the international situation on the whole makes it possible to foresee new positive developments next year, the minister said.

He pointed out that general solidarity towards the Soviet Union, which assumed special character in connection with the earthquake in Armenia, is proof of the changes in the international climate. In this connection Andreotti made the proposal to build in Armenia an Italian settlement for the victims in the earthquake.

The minister also stressed the importance of the idea of a single Europe.

Soviet, Finnish Parliamentarians Meet in Moscow

PM1312125788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] On 9 December a conversation took place between G. Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and J. Virolainen, chairman of the Finnish parliamentary group.

The major role of Soviet and Finnish parliamentarians in work to strengthen stability in North Europe, to build a common European home, and form a secure nuclear-free world all over the globe were recorded at the meeting.

J. Virolainen noted Finland's great interest in the changes taking place in the Soviet Union's political and economic life. He stated his country's adherence to the Helsinki Accords, and to the further development of bilateral mutually beneficial cooperation.

Heikki Talvitie, the Finnish ambassador to the Soviet Union, took part in the conversation.

The guest visited the USSR Academy of Sciences European Institute and the IZVESTIYA editorial office and toured the Moscow sights.

Soviet-Swiss Economic Talks Open in Moscow

LD1312190388 Moscow TASS in English 1752 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—The state and prospects of the development of trade, scientific and technical contacts between the USSR and Switzerland are being discussed at the first session of the intergovernmental commission that opened here today.

A Soviet delegation is led by Gayrat Rakhimeyev, deputy minister of foreign economic relations, and a Swiss delegation—by Silvio Arioli, ambassador in charge of trade agreements of the Swiss Federal Council.

A program of the commission's work envisages meetings at a number of Soviet ministries and organizations, specifically, at the Ministries of the Light Industry and Machine Building, at the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activities (Vneshekonombank).

Forty years ago a Soviet-Swiss trade agreement was signed which expressed the two countries' intention to develop economic relations, stipulated the most-favoured-nation treatment, included transit and commercial navigation issues. This solid legal basis supplemented in 1978 and 1979 by an agreement and a long-term cooperation program promoted a dynamic development of bilateral business relations. During the past 40 years Soviet-Swiss trade turnover went up from 6.6 million to 884 million roubles. A TASS correspondent has been told at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the volume of reciprocal trade is expected to grow this year.

U.S. Agreement for Bases in Greece Discussed

NC1312220088 Moscow in Greek to Greece 1730 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Vladimir Kalygin commentary]

[Text] The 5-year Greek-U.S. Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement, on the basis of which the U.S. war bases exist on Greek territory, expires at the end of December 1988. This fact, our commentator Vladimir Kalygin says, has been (?the subject) of political discussions with regard to the presence of U.S. bases in Greece. Greek democratic circles stress that the U.S. strategic presence in Greece has a negtive effect on the situation in the country. It is stressed that the bases are a means for U.S. intervention in Greece's internal affairs and no political [words indistinct]. The U.S. military presence in Greece contributes to the expansion of narcotics smuggling, narcotics addiction, pornography, and prostitution. The U.S. soldiers frequently cause provocative incidents in public areas, offend the Greeks, and (?violate the laws of the country). The accidents by U.S. military planes in Greek airspace and by ships in Greece's territorial waters have repeatedly caused direct threats to the country's security and to its people.

According to reports, the 12th round of Greek-U.S. talks on the future of the U.S. bases in Greece opened in Athens today. The 11 earlier rounds were held in a tense atmosphere and failed to achieve substantive progress. The Greek leadership has directly linked the possibility of a new agreement with Washington's position toward the (?disputed questions) in Greek-Turkish relations regarding the Aegean and the settlement of the Cyprus issue. At the same time, it was officially stated that, if a new agreement that responds to Greek national interests is to be worked out with the United States, then the question of its signing will definitely be submitted to a popular referendum. Otherwise, the bases should be removed from Greece.

In approaching the question of U.S. bases in Greece, our commentator writes, the PASOK government cannot overlook the goal of some NATO countries to have more independence and to limit the U.S. military presence on their territory. This concerns first and foremost the position of the Spanish Government which, among other

things, demanded that the United States consent to the removal of 72 U.S. F-16 planes from the Torrejon war base near Madrid. As for Washington, according to much evidence, it has been doing everything possible to keep its bases in Greece, which occupies a strategic position in the eastern Mediterranean.

The Americans are increasing their pressure on the Greek Government, resorting to the use of political, economic, and propaganda levers. These activities repeatedly have aroused protests by the Greek public. Thus, mass demonstrations and gatherings, demanding the termination of the talks with the United States and the removal of the U.S. bases after the expiration of the 1983 agreement, were held in Athens, Patrai, Larisa, and number of other cities a few days ago.

Cypriot Parliamentary Delegation Arrives

LD1312113488 Moscow TASS in English 1047 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—A delegation of the House of Representatives (Parliament) of the Republic of Cyprus led by Vassos Lyssarides, president of the House, has arrived here at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Parliament).

Today the guests paid a visit to Yuriy Khristoradnov and Avgust Voss, chairmen of the Council of the Union and the Council of the Nationalities of the Soviet Parliament, respectively.

The traditional and steady nature of friendly relations existing between the peoples and parliaments of the two countries was emphasized in an ensuing conversation. It was pointed out that the delegation's visit would become a new step in further development and intensification of Soviet-Cyprus contacts.

Lyssarides expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for active participation in efforts to resolve the Cyprus issue as well as for the role it plays in the work to stablize the international situation.

Taking part in the conversation were Aleksandr Kishlar, a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Mikhale E. Sierifis, the ambassador of the Republic of Cyprus to the USSR.

On the same day the delegation visited Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. The guests laid flowers at the Unknown Soldiers's Tomb near the Kremlin Wall.

Latin America & Caribbean

Panamanian President Lauds Soviet 'Example'

PM1312103588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Unnamed TASS correspondent report on interview with Panamanian president Manuel Solis Palma under the rubric "Facts, Events, Opinions": "Panamanian President on Soviet Policy"]

[Text] Panama, 10 Dec—The continuation of Soviet-U.S. dialogue at summit level is bound to make a worthy contribution to solving the global problems of today in the interests of the struggle for complete disarmament for the sake of mankind's progress. Panamanian President Manuel Solis Palma said this in an interview with your TASS correspondent.

The transformations and reforms being carried out in the Soviet Union under the leadership and on the initiative of M.S. Gorbachev in the political and socioeconomic spheres are also having an exceptionally positive impact on improving the international situation and the climate of trust and cooperation. The processes of restructuring, glasnost, and democratization have aroused enormous interest and sincere sympathy everywhere. We wholeheartedly wish the Soviet leader success in his noble mission and in the fulfillment of tasks to transform socialist society, the president said.

There is no doubt, M. Solis Palma said, that these processes have also aroused a lively interest here in Panama in the Soviet Union—the life of its peoples, its scientific and technological achievements, its economy, art, and the history of the creation and development of the world's first socialist state. The Soviet Union's decision to become a signatory to the protocol to the treaty on the permanent neutrality and operation of the Panama Canal was a powerful incentive to recognize the need to establish diplomatic relations between Panama and the Soviet Union, and expand trade, economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation. There is absolutely no doubt, the president noted, that this positive step is a demonstration of solidarity with the republic's struggle to achieve full sovereignty and real freedom and independence, and the right to self-determination and to solve its own problems without U.S. interference. Under the conditions of the sharply deteriorating situation in the country and the region, as a result of Washington's unceasing aggression and interventionist actions, the Soviet Union's decision is an important stabilizing factor that is having a beneficial effect on the situation in this explosive region of Latin America.

M. Solis Palma pointed out that the Panamanian government attaches great importance to developing relations with the Soviet Union and other states in the socialist community. In this respect we proceed not from considerations of the moment but from the fundamental principles of the Nonaligned Movement, which form the basis of the republic's foreign policy: maintaining normal, equitable, friendly relations with all states and respecting their sovereignty, independence, and freedom to choose their own path. This is a historical reality of the modern world, which is not dependent on the existence of ideological or political differences. This is precisely how one should view the Panamanian government's recent decision to approve a 1979 trade agreement with the Soviet Union and submit it to the republic's legislative assembly for ratification.

The processes of reform and transformation in the Soviet Union and the restructuring of the entire system of international relations—with the emphasis on

strengthening peace, universal security, and cooperation for the good of the peoples' progress—are having a powerful impact on the entire community and forcing the United States and the West to take steps in the same direction, the president emphasized. Joint efforts, courage and responsibility on the part of leaders, and consistent actions by peoples and governments are needed to achieve these noble, humane aims. The USSR and its leader, M.S. Gorbachev, are setting a worthy example in the movement toward the progress of human civilization, the Panamanian president emphasized.

CPSU Delegation Meets Uruguayan Communists

LD1312131788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0650 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Montevideo, 13 Dec (TASS)—The CPSU delegation headed by S.A. Niyazov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Turkmenian Communist Party Central Committee, which has been taking part in the work of the 21st congress of the Uruguayan Communist Party [PCU], has had a meeting with Jaime Perez, secretary general of the PCU Central Committee.

During their conversation, the leader of the Uruguayan Communists briefed the members of the delegation on the state of the party and the chief tasks facing it at the current stage.

In the course of the conversation there was a frank exchange of opinions on problems of concern to both parties. Issues concerned with the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union and with the new peace initiatives put forward by the Soviet leadership aimed at consolidating peace worldwide, guaranteeing relaxation of international tension, and holding back the arms race were touched upon.

J. Perez stressed that Uruguay's Communists and all ordinary Uruguayans totally support the process of radical economic and social changes in the USSR which are being carried out for the good of the Soviet people and in the interests of the further successful development of the country.

The head of the Soviet delegation had a meeting with Rodney Arismendi, chairman of the PCU Central Committee.

Honduran Communist Party Statement on Radar Site

PA1012023888 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 0000 GMT 9 Dec 88

["Statement" issued by the Communist Party of Honduras—date not given]

[Text] Honduran dignity and sovereignty have again been outraged, behind the backs of the Honduran people. For several months, Honduran Foreign Ministry and Armed Forces officials have been negotiating an agreement with the U.S. Government to install a radar site on the country's northern coast.

Since 1982, the U.S Government has been creating a military infrastructure in Honduras that includes airfields, military bases, radar installations, intelligence centers, and so on. The Pentagon, however, intends to increase its presence in Honduras even further. Honduran and U.S. officials have gone so far as to carry out these negotiations in such a way that the Executive Branch will approve and ratify the agreement, overruling the authority of Congress in a flagrant violation of the Constitution.

Such an agreement constitutes a surrender of national sovereignty and imposes additional expenditures for military installations that serve only the Pentagon.

CPSU Greets Colombian Communist Party Congress

LD1212185288 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 12 TASS—The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Central Committee has sent the 15th congress of the Colombian Communist Party (PCC) a message of greetings, saying that the PCC, acting in complex and peculiar conditions, firmly upholds the vital interests of workers and all people of Colombia, pursues a policy of principle on the key problems of the times and holds a consistently anti-imperialist stand.

"The CPSU and the PCC are bound by many years of sincere and enduring friendship. Soviet communists will continue to identify with the struggle of their Colombian comrades," the message said.

"Now that the international climate is undergoing favorable change...the CPSU, acting constructively in a spirit of new political thinking, will spare no efforts for liberating mankind from the threat of destruction, for the sake of saving human civilization," it stressed.

Political & Social

Gerasimov Briefing on Quake Victims; Foreign Aid

LD1312155088 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—According to data as of the morning of December 12, the number of the victims of the recent earthquake in Transcaucasia amounts to about 59,000, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing here today. Thirteen thousand people were injured in the quake. These figures are not final because the number of quake victims in rural areas is being established.

Over the four days, the spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry pointed out, 18,500 people were rescued from under the rubble, but there were only 5,400 survivors.

As of today, Gennadiy Gerasimov went on to say, aid to the quake-stricken areas of Armenia is being given by 53 countries. Fifty-six planes from 27 countries have arrived in the Soviet Union. Twenty-two planes are expected to arrive today from Afghanistan, Canada, Austria, Poland, Cuba, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Kuwait, Switzerland, as well as three from Bulgaria, two from Czechoslovakia, three from Syria, two from France and two from Israel.

The spokesman cited relief supplies from Britain as an example of this aid. That country is delivering medicines, [word indistinct] prime necessities, instruments to locate people buried under the rubble, and winterised prefabricated houses. Seventeen artificial kidney installations have also been sent to the disaster areas. British people donated about 500,000 dollars to the quake victims relief fund, and the government formed a special fund amounting to five million pounds sterling.

Speaking of the Yugoslav plane which crashed when it approached Yerevan at night on Monday, Gennadiy Gerasimov said an investigation of the causes of the crash was under way. He also said that Yugoslavia offered to send cargoes similar to those that were in the plane [words indistinct].

Lev Voznesenskiy, head of the Information Department of the USSR Council of Ministers, who took part in the briefing, said all the relief supplies from abroad were stored and transported as first priority, and their safe keeping is fully guaranteed.

"The distribution of the incoming relief supplies is being coordinated by Armenia's Council of Ministers. They will be used only for the purposes of giving aid to the quake-stricken areas of the republic", Voznesenskiy emphasized.

In answer to journalists' numerous questions about the nationalist action in Yerevan last Saturday [10 December], Bishop Tiran, permanent representative of the Armenian Church in Moscow, said: "I am calling on all journalists, Soviet and foreign, to help establish more cordial relations between the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan. We are neighbours and we are destined to live together. If we do not speak too much of the complex situation involving Nagorno-Karabakh, passions, I think, will gradually subside, and authorities, intelligentsia and clergy will set about looking for ways to normalize the situation and to establish a warm and friendly atmosphere."

'Special Commission' Needed To Determine Blame

PM1312161488 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 88 Morning Edition pp 1, 6

[Special correspondents S. Bablumyan, S. Taranov report from Armenia: "Everything Necessary Must Be Done"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Material damage... Naturally, there is no time yet to calculate it scrupulously. But highly approximate, conditional calculations show that the expenditure on restoration and new construction in the disaster zone will total at least R5 billion. It is not ruled out that this sum could grow in the course of practical implementation of plans. After all, it will be necessary to rebuild from scratch Spitak, Leninakan, part of Kirovakan, and about 130 villages, 28 of which were totally destroyed. The 500,000 people who lost their roofs will receive new, well-appointed housing. Plus a whole range of social, cultural, and consumer facilities. The schedule for the restoration work is 2 years.

But can one build in a highly dangerous seismic zone? Yes, experts say. But only given the strictest observance of all the rules and requirements. One thing is already clear today: Apartment blocks in northern Armenia should not be more than three or four stories high. But why did this become clear only after a terrible disaster? How did it come about that in Kirovakan and Leninakan multistory buildings grew skyward over many years, and moreover many modern one-, two-, and six-story blocks collapsed in a moment? Who is to blame? These and thousands of other questions must be answered by a special commission, which will investigate the causes of poor quality construction. No, the gross errors and violations of norms for construction in a seismic zone must not, have no right to be repeated. The danger is too great...

But that is not the only danger. Rumors also have tremendous destructive force. In Kirovakan, for instance, there was talk of a leak of toxic substances from local chemical enterprises. Nothing of the kind has happened! And what about the news that upset many people—that children from the affected regions are supposedly being shipped out "by order" to other republics, and not temporarily, but forever?! Who starts these and other far from harmless rumors, and why? And that is

happening during a disaster which millions of people, rallying together, are helping to overcome: Armenians, Russians, Ukrainians, Georgians... So it transpires that along with round-the-clock efforts to organize rescue operations in the disaster zone, it is also necessary nearly every day to extinguish the flames of rumor. [passage omitted]

Ryzhkov Commission Works in Quake's Aftermath

12 Nov Ryzhkov News Conference

PM1412125788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Dec 88 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report: "In the Struggle With the Consequences of the Catastrophe. News Conference for Soviet and Foreign Journalists"]

[Text] The attention of the entire country and the entire world has been focused on the tragic events in Armenia. The consequences of the destructive earthquake that cost thousands of lives are grave and painful. A CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission which is coordinating work to eliminate the consequences of the natural disaster and help the victims is operating in the republic under conditions of broad glasnost.

At the request of Soviet journalists and also of a large group of accredited foreign journalists at the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, N.I. Ryzhkov, the commission's chairman; N.N. Slyunkov and D.T. Yazov, members of the Central Committee Politburo commission; and also S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, met on 12 December with press representatives and answered their questions.

N.I. Ryzhkov delivered an introductory address to open the news conference.

I think, he said, that you have all visited the disaster zone. That is why there is no need to talk in detail about the situation that has taken shape there.

I would like to take the opportunity of this meeting with journalists, who include many representatives of the foreign mass media, to express on behalf of the Soviet Government cordial gratitude to governments, foreign leaders, their public organizations, business circles, and private individuals—in short, everyone who has responded with kind words and actions at this dramatic moment to the calamity that has befallen us.

Many countries have sent their specialists, who are working in the disaster zone today. People are doing a very great job. Yesterday while we were in Leninakan, we met French specialists, who are helping find people alive in the ruins. Our calamity has met with an unusual human response throughout the world. Never before have we seen such warm and human compassion on the part of foreign countries.

We see this not only as a manifestation of humanity and human concern. I think that this is also a reaction to the good changes that are also taking place in international relations under the influence of the new political thinking and people's increasingly broad realization of the priority of general human values and the interconnectedness of our entire multifaceted world. The abiding values of human civilization are equally precious to all the peoples. Evidently the pain that they experience when these values and, of course, above all human life, are jeopardized, is also identical. You involuntarily think about all this here in Armenia when you come into contact with the tragedy that has befallen this republic.

Once again I want to express through you to all these countries sincere gratitude for their moral and material support.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has just visited the disaster areas. His trip and meetings with the people met with a vital response from the Armenian people and supported them in this difficult hour.

Today at 11:41 marked exactly 5 days since the catastrophe. It was a dreadful surprise for us and for any other country. We were not prepared for it. The scale of the calamity and the extreme nature of the situation necessitated a quest for new forms and methods of organizing work to eliminate the consequences of the disaster.

I must say that from the first hours when we found out that this was no ordinary earthquake—earthquakes happen frequently in our country—but a true tragedy and a real disaster, we immediately took the requisite organizational steps.

That evening a Politburo commission was organized following a CPSU Central Committee Politburo decision. That night the commission flew out to Yerevan and on the morning of the second day after the catastrophe it was here and set to work immediately.

What is the scale of the calamity? I want to say right away that we still do not have precise data. The affected zone is 80 km in diameter. According to scientists' estimates, the earthquake registered more than 8 points on a 12 point scale at the epicenter—between the cities of Spitak and Leninakan. Approximately 500,000 people were made homeless and 12,000 people, according to current data, were injured. Of them, 6,000 have been hospitalized.

How many have perished? Approximately 15,000 people have been pulled out dead hitherto. You can only judge how many in total have died from calculations based on the experience of world practice. These calculations made by scientists put the possible figure at 40-45,000 people.

On the whole 9-story apartment blocks and industrial structures have been destroyed. But in the city of Spitak, the epicenter of the earthquake, virtually nothing is left. We believe that there is nothing to restore in this city at all. We will have to reconstruct it.

What is being done at present? I have already said that the rescue technology is extremely complex. The republic did not have enough load-lifting systems. Primarily the republic lacked powerful cranes and excavators. That is why we began by bringing in heavy equipment from nearby regions—Georgia and Azerbaijan. But this was insufficient. A decision was adopted to equip 600 crane crews with excavators, cutting equipment, repair services, workers, and specialists so that they could operate around the clock.

Our task is to carry out all the work in two stages. The first stage is to rescue people. We are still digging out people alive. Some 10 people were brought out in Leninakan today. We are endeavoring to rescue those who are still alive come what may. We must completely remove the debris that has formed and completely get out the dead and bury them. That's the first stage.

At the same time we are doing a great deal of work to evacuate the population. I want you to understand me correctly. During the first 3 days it proved difficult to send people away. We did everything possible to convince the population to take children, women, and old people away from the disaster zone and just leave the men here. But no one listened to us; people were in a state of shock. Every family has lost someone and no one wanted to leave until they had been found dead. Now the situation is changing and an active evacuation has begun. Some 50,000 places have been made ready for the victims in sanatoriums, clinics, vacation homes, and tourist bases—in Armenia, Georgia, and Stavropol and Krasnodar Krays in the RSFSR. Some 50,000 places have also been made ready in the Ukraine—in the Crimea, in Odessa Oblast.

In the last 24 hours 2,000 women and children have been shipped out. According to our data, 50-70,000 people will have to be evacuated. We intend to carry out this work in 10 days.

We are bringing housing modules and container homes into the disaster zone so they can keep warm, and, as they say, have a home for the winter. Men will engage in construction and other reconstruction work. We are grateful to the FRG Government, which has given us special freightcars in which they can live. Mobile construction detachments, which can work autonomously, will begin arriving in the immediate future. They will construct housing, kindergartens, hospitals, and so on.

Ministries of union status with enterprises in Armenia will apply their efforts to restoring everything that has been destroyed. As you can see, we are waging the struggle against the consequences of the disaster on several fronts.

Today we flew out to the stricken rural areas. The scene there is equally as grave as that in the cities. Some 28 villages have been completely destroyed, approximately 100 have been partially destroyed, and a rayon center near Leninakan has suffered very badly. We will outline measures as to how to help the countryside. The USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee has been entrusted with all this work. We will put responsible people in every village and every hamlet and will begin an offensive on the countryside.

Food has been organized everywhere and there are no great problems with this. We are gradually restoring electricity and water.

Our entire country is offering Armenia help. The response to what has happened is simply unprecedented. We can't even keep up with unloading the consignments as they are arriving in such a flood. Thus we are fully convinced that we will cope with the complex task and will restore everything within 2 years. It is difficult now to estimate how much the restoration will cost. At present the figure is R5 billion. I think that this is a minimum. The country has to find both financial and material resources.

Then N.I. Ryzhkov and other members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission answered correspondents' questions.

Question from Armenian Television: What is your opinion of the organization of the rescue work?

N.I. Ryzhkov: The medical services have worked and are working very well. Suffice it to say that the first day after the calamity, when there was no electricity or water in the disaster zone for 24 hours, tents and hospitals were set up in field conditions and 2,500 most complex operations were performed.

The Army is working well. By and large from the viewpoint of enthusiasm, selflessness, and dedication we cannot make any complaints about anyone. I would, of course, like it to be better from the viewpoint of the organization of the work.

In general our opinion is this: Material and technical supplies are not in doubt today. We have gathered pace and created reserves. By and large we believe that this work is going well.

Question from a Czechoslovak Radio representative: What is your opinion of the aid offered to Armenia by neighboring republics?

N.I. Ryzhkov: This aid has come from all Soviet republics and all Soviet people. It is difficult to overestimate it. The most important thing is, of course, the moral support. We had an opportunity to watch a few television

programs yesterday. Reporters show convincingly what is happening, in virtually all the country's cities. Yes, there is great moral support.

The second thing is the material side. We are grateful to the whole country and to all the Soviet republics and we are grateful to labor collectives, public organizations, and all of the people for coming to Armenia's aid at this grave time. Both neighboring and distant republics are doing everything possible for Armenia.

Question from a Yugoslav journalist: Do you have any new information regarding the crash of our aircraft?

N.I. Ryzhkov: I have just made inquiries. At present we do not have any additional information. The tragedy is being analyzed. We express sincere condolences to the Yugoslav people in connection with this great misfortune. It happened to people who were flying to help us. I am sure that the reason for what happened will be discovered and the true cause established. I would not like to just engage in guesswork now, it is too serious a matter. We will inform you without fail as soon as it is totally clear what happened to the aircraft. It crashed 12 km from Yerevan straight onto the highway.

Question from representative of Japan's KYODO NEWS AGENCY: I and other colleagues were in Leninakan and I got the impression that there were many soldiers at the airport; but, quite honestly, I did not see any soldiers rescuing people from the ruins. I would like to ask: How many soldiers are currently engaged in rescue work and how many are now in this zone?

N.I. Ryzhkov: Clearly, I don't know all the details. I hope that Comrade Yazov will help me. However, I will say again that the Soviet Army is doing a great deal as regards rescue work.

Indeed, in two cities—Leninakan and Spitak—we brought in two military subunits to create a normal situation in the natural disaster zone. If you had been there the day after the earthquake you would have seen for yourself that it was impossible to do any work. You wouldn't even have gotten there. And you wouldn't be asking such a question. So, we brought troops in, sealed off the city, and—you may have noticed—we are not letting a single vehicle in. When people arrive at the zone they are asked to leave their vehicles behind. There are hundreds and thousands of vehicles waiting there while people go into town on foot to search for their relatives. We must restore social order—that is why we have done it. We think we've done the right thing.

Now to turn to the Army's participation in the rescue work. First, seven engineering regiments have been mobilized and deployed.

The military are clearing the rubble. Two regiments have arrived and are already at work. The rest are en route. The Il-76 which crashed recently was carrying two units of equipment and 70 men. I'm talking about regiments deployed by the civil defense organizations. Their aim is precisely to save people. Moreover, they are tackling the problem of water supply, communications, and restoration work.

Would you like to add anything, Dmitriy Timofeyevich?

D.T. Yazov: It is no secret that 18,990 servicemen are working in the disaster zone. There are 10,626 men working in Leninakan. You said you saw many people in uniform at the airport. Indeed, soldiers are working at the airport to ensure that planes are unloaded as quickly as possible. There's only a small unloading bay in Leninakan—it takes just five planes—and turnaround time depends on how fast we unload the aircraft. That is why soldiers are taking part in this work in Leninakan and Yerevan. Commission Chairman N.I. Ryzhkov has tasked the Army with the most difficult work, including the delivery of equipment. Military transport aircraft are very busy. They have made 205 trips.

We have many planes but there are few airfields in the zone—just Leninakan and Yerevan. The poor winter weather is not helping either. Consequently, it's not possible to have more than 40-47 flights a day.

A word about other areas: A water line has been set up and water supplied to Spitak. Nobody will do this work except us. It takes specialists. It is necessary to reopen the railroad, which is out of action on the Leninakan-Kirovakan stretch. We are reopening it. That is why you saw few military men clearing the rubble. Incidentally, soldiers doing rescue work operate in overalls and are outwardly indistinguishable from the civilian population.

N.I. Ryzhkov: Yes, we are indeed charging military transport aircraft with very complex and difficult work. When the airports open and when no injured are being carried, just 10 minutes are set aside for unloading equipment from the aircraft. When a plane arrives the soldiers immediately move the excavators and cranes away—after all, an area must be cleared otherwise there'll be no room to unload anything. We're sending by rail anything that can be sent by rail, but people here desperately need equipment, tents, and clothes. The Army is doing a great deal in this respect as well.

N.N. Slyunkov: You and I, Nikolay Ivanovich, have repeatedly seen how busily engaged with rescue work the military subunits are. There are many examples of that.

Question from a PRAVDA correspondent: Would someone like to forecast what lies ahead? For instance, we can see people removing rubble from Leninakan and Spitak and just dumping it on the ground. Could not huge pits be used for this purpose? After all, such dumps of rubble create new problems. One other point—what about the distribution of things that have been and are being brought into the republic?

N.I. Ryzhkov: I agree with you. We must do everything to ensure that pastureland—and there is very little of that in Armenia—is polluted as little as possible. I think that in a few days' time the organization will firm up. Useful areas will be cleared. We will find ravines and dump the rubble there.

With regard to internal shipments, they are being handled by my deputy L.A. Voronin, chairman of the USSR Gossnab. He is also coordinating all movements of material assets around the country and is operating along with his colleagues Yu.P. Batalin and B.Ye. Shcherbina. There are shortcomings in this work, but, in general, I think we've got everything in hand.

However, sometimes events are simply unpredictable. Just 3 days ago we could not persuade anyone to be evacuated. Now there are lines of people who want to be evacuated.

For 3 days we asked people to take tents and erect them. Nobody wanted to take them. Now wherever you go people need tents. Of course, we must deliver them as quickly as possible by helicopter and truck.

Foreign aid, as agreed with the Armenian leadership, is being distributed in the republic. To the best of my knowledge a special group has been set up to account for, store, and supply people with what they need right now. Things that will be needed later when we are restoring everything will have to be carefully stored. I repeat that we are grateful for this help. [Ryzhkov ends]

A number of questions concerned the provision of basic necessities to people. Answering them, S.G. Arutyunyan stressed that in this respect the republic experienced reliable help from the country immediately after the disaster. Transportation was rapidly provided to take foodstuffs to the most severely affected areas. A great deal has also been done by working people in the republic, who at their own initiative took food to remote areas. We recently visited a remote mountain village. There people said that everything is normal as far as supplies are concerned. There is not only enough food, but enough medicine too, and services are gradually being organized.

Question from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: What use is being made of the foreign currency being paid into the disaster fund from abroad?

N.I. Ryzhkov: It is all going via the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity to its Armenian branch. The Armenian Government will spend it as it sees fit. Every last cent is going to Armenia.

Question from REUTER: We were told in Leninakan that to a considerable extent poor construction is to blame for the terrible consequences of the tragedy. What is your reaction, what lessons have been learned?

N.I. Ryzhkov: My reaction and that of the country's leadership, needless to say, is negative. M.S. Gorbachev visited the areas destroyed. Our impressions and the opinion of the commission that visited the area are that the most blatant violations were committed both from the standpoint of planning and from the standpoint of the way work was carried out. That is why it has been decided to set up a government commission. When the investigation is complete, I think that very serious conclusions will be drawn.

Now to turn to the future. It is the opinion of competent specialists—including specialists in construction in seismically active areas—that buildings can be erected in the area but they should be no higher than three or four stories and should have special safety measures. That is, construction should be able to withstand an earthquake of up to force 9 [on the Soviet earthquake scale, approximates to seven on the Richter scale]. It is possible to live in these areas, but nobody can give any guarantees that there won't be another earthquake. Science cannot yet make that kind of forecast. And the tremors are continuing....

N.N. Slyunkov: There have been 367 tremors since 7 December, 94 of which have been stronger than 5.5.... [on the Soviet earthquake scale]

N.I. Ryzhkov: The seismic activity is gradually abating, but tremors continue. The scientists tell us that we have to go back to the 11th century to find an earthquake of similar force and extent.

N.N. Slyunkov: You have seen for yourself how huge buildings—seemingly built in such a way that no destructive force could topple them—have been destroyed. We'll have to investigate all this and draw conclusions.

Question from USSR Central TV: We have shown reports mentioning aid from Azerbaijan to the Armenian people. Now certain people in Yerevan are saying that these are just words. What can you say on that score?

N.I. Ryzhkov: I've already talked about our people's cohesion and I'm convinced that virtually 100 percent of our people feel that what happened is a shared suffering. But there are also isolated individuals who see it differently—both in Armenia and Azerbaijan. They are the ones spreading all kinds of rumors harmful to our common and difficult cause. One rumor—completely unfounded, and this has been confirmed by a large group of scientists specially brought to Yerevan from Moscow—is the fabrication that the direction of the earthquake was such that some return shockwave would undoubtedly hit the Armenian nuclear power station. Here is another example. We are preparing to evacuate children and we explain that we will be making full provision for them, their mothers, and their teachers; then someone puts about the cynical rumor that the children are allegedly being shipped off to Siberia so as to

dilute the Armenian people and the Armenian nation. That is a barefaced lie! Such an idea is impermissible. I think that the Armenian people should rebuff all kinds of provocateurs.

As for the aid from Azerbaijan, that republic has sent in construction materials, fuel, medicines, and 20 cranes and crane crews. Azerbaijan, like all union republics, is giving major assistance to Armenia.

Question from AP: Do the experts have an opinion as to how long people can survive under the rubble?

N.I. Ryzhkov: There is world experience. In Mexico people were found after 13 days. Today, for instance, many people were pulled out of the rubble in Leninakan after 5 days. Comrade Yazov has just flown in from there.

D.T. Yazov: The medical people tell us that if people aren't injured they can live longer. On the evening of 8 December we were clearing rubble from a store in Leninakan and 200 people came out from under. In Leninakan alone 5,398 people have been dug out or pulled out alive.

A Hungarian journalist asked in which rayons of Armenia and Azerbaijan a curfew has been imposed.

N.I. Ryzhkov: Curfews have been imposed in 16 Armenian rayons as well as in Yerevan, and in 12 Azerbaijani rayons as well as in Baku—places where there is a mixed population. We cannot allow unpredictable events in relations between people. The reasons for the special status in Leninakan and Spitak are different: Clear procedures have to be arranged for shipments of goods and for rescue work, and we must ensure that as many people as possible are fit for work.

Question from ARMENPRESS: What is the fate of our Armenian nuclear power station?

N.I. Ryzhkov: The following. On government instructions scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences, and leading specialists have been hard at work. If the station were closed now, life in Armenia would virtually come to a stop. It would take a minimum of 2 years to shut down the units and remove the radioactive fuel. What would we gain? Nothing. But, taking public opinion into account, the decision to close the station and subsequently convert [pereprofilirovaniye] it will be made. We will just complete the work we are currently doing in Armenia and then make the official decision.

Voice: What's your assessment of the work of journalists over the last few days?

N.I. Ryzhkov: I make a very high assessment of it. Although, to be quite honest, we haven't had time to read all the articles. But we can see the main thing: On the whole, your assessments have been objective. One would like to think that journalists will raise people's spirits. The conditions have been created for your work and we are giving out information constantly.

Question from UPI: How long do you plan to stay here?

N.I. Ryzhkov: We'll leave when we can see that things are going normally and comrades here are coping and ensuring the proper rhythm of work. But in any event Council of Ministers Deputy Chairmen L.A. Voronin, B.Ye. Shcherbina, and Yu.P. Batalin will be staying on; and as for this week our work schedule is planned through Saturday.

TV Shows News Conference

LD1312184088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; news conference given in Yerevan on 12 December by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, with Nikolay Slyunkov and General Dmitriy Yazov, members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission, and Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee—recorded]

[Text] [Ryzhkov] On behalf of the Soviet Government, I would like to take advantage of the fact that a number of foreign correspondents and representatives of mass information organs are present at this meeting, to express heartfelt gratitude to all the governments for the kind words addressed to Armenia and to the Soviet Union during these grave moments for us. We have received very many sincere condolences from virtually all countries of the world. We also thank the governments, state leaders, government leaders, public organizations, and business people of these countries who have expressed the wish to help our country both on the moral and material level.

During these days we have been receiving very much material aid of all kinds from abroad. Many countries of the world have sent their specialists who are now working in the disaster zone. I will not enumerate all the countries which are working there directly. They are carrying out very great work.

This misfortune which has happened to our country has met with an unprecedented, a very human response throughout the world. I must say that we have never before felt precisely such a warm and human attitude to a misfortune.

In our time we have had to live through Chernobyl, including myself personally and my deputies who are here now, and I would say that the atmosphere was totally different, totally different, at that time. There was a kind of a feeling of suspicion around, a kind of criticism; and today this is quite unlike what there was 2 years ago. I believe that this is the result of the great

changes now taking place in the world. It is the result, as Mikhail Sergeyevich says, of the new political thinking—that is when we really begin to understand that the main thing in the world is common human values, human life and existence. And we have become convinced of this precisely now that this disaster has happened in our land. Therefore, I would like once again to express through you our sincere gratitude to all countries for their moral and material support.

What is the scale? I would like just to warn you at once that there is no great precision here, because everything is so complicated and so serious that it is very difficult today to evaluate anything with great precision—even what we have done.

The zone has a diameter of 80 km, 80 km. According to scientific estimates, in the epicenter—and this was not far from the town of Spitak, a distance of approximately 20 km, between Spitak and Leninakan—the intensity was 10-10.5 in the Richter scale. Yes. Approximately 500,000 people have been made homeless. There also is an estimate of 450,000 but we are rounding it off in this way and believe that 500,000 people have been made homeless; 12,000 people—well, so far—received injuries; 6,000 of them have been hospitalized.

How many have died? We can more or less confidently say that approximately 15,000 people have been pulled out dead, so far. How many have died in fact? This can only be shown by calculations. Such calculations have been made. World experience—the experience of world practice and our own experience was taken. There are certain scientific works which figure out how many people die, given a certain intensity, given a certain population density, and given a certain devastation. Well, according to the calculations of our scientists, it is believed that, the probability is that 40-45,000 have died.

But, today, none of us can answer the question of how many have actually died because rescue work is still underway. It has turned out to be very complicated, unusually complicated. The point is that it is mainly 9-storey high-rise blocks of apartments and industrial works, industrial buildings that have been devastated. But in the town of Spitak, everything there has completely been put out of operation, both multistorey and one-storey buildings. That is where the very epicenter was; that is why virtually nothing was left there. We believe that, on the whole, there is nothing left to restore in this town. We will have to rebuild the town.

There you have our estimates concerning the victims. What is being done at the present time? I have already said that the rescue technology is an extremely complicated one because the apartment blocks were of prefabricated-panel construction, and they have disintegrated. They are all in chaotic disorder.

So, to reach, you have to...rather, in order to reach people, it is essential to get everything out of there—the ceilings and the other elements of these buildings. This is all mixed up, and in order to, say, lift one block you have to lift several, that is, doing the operations and cutting through it all, and thus, proceeding step by step.

Of course, the republic did not have sufficient lifting equipment, primarily, of course, truck-mounted cranes and excavators. Therefore, the first thing we started when we had made sure of the true scale of the destruction and, indeed, the form of this destruction, was that we became convinced that a very great deal of heavy equipment was required. After that, we started the airlift. Of course, there are very many difficulties. Much of the equipment does not fit into heavy aircraft—the equipment has to be dismantled, and some of it just will not fit. Nevertheless, we were ferrying equipment in by air for 3 days in succession. We simply had no other route.

Simultaneously, convoys were being loaded in those towns which had been issued with instructions. The first convoy is starting to come in today. Today we have consignments of freight in the air, on the runway. [video shows Ryzhkov opening notebook, flips through pages to find data] Today we have in the loading ports, in the air, and coming in—although these are the morning figures I have—90 units, 50 still being loaded, so that is 140 units which still have to be ferried in by air and there are 160 units on their way by rail.

Our task is to do the work in two stages. The first stage is to save people. We are still digging out people who are alive. Today in Leninakan, something in the order of ten people were brought out alive. So, every day, all the time, we will be stepping up work to save as many as possible of those who are still alive. We do have complete data—this is being indicated by the foreign specialists, too—that there are indeed still people alive. That is our first task: to do everything to save the people who are alive.

We then have to fully clear away the debris, in order to get out all those who perished, to get out the dead and bury them. This is the first stage. At the same time we are doing a great deal of work to evacuate...we have started to do a great deal of work to evacuate the population.

I want you to understand us correctly here: In the first 3 days nobody listened to us, nobody. There was a state of shock. Every family had lost somebody, and they said, until we dig down to these people, we will not go anywhere.

Now the situation has changed. On the second day, even, people began to ask urgently: Come on, transport us out. As soon as we learned about the true scale of this catastrophe, on the same evening, 7 December, the trade unions began preparatory work, and so far, 50,000 places have been made available at sanatoriums, health clinics, vacation homes, and tourist centers.

According to our data we need to evacuate from 50-70,000 people. The task has been set to carry out this work in 10 days, to transport children, women, and old men out of this zone in 10 days. As far as the men are concerned, we are now doing everything and the special trains are already on their way here. We are bringing in all possible housing modules, container-type homes, to heat them, so that they can move into these homes as living accommodation for the winter. We are also organizing the over-wintering of our people there. In parallel with the emergency work which is being carried out, our specialists—and we have now called very many people out here—are conducting design work. They have started carrying out design work in the field of the restoration of housing and also, in places, the creation of new building areas. Every republic has been given a target for how many mobile construction detachments it should send. All of them announced a wish to do so and now, as they say, the final polishing of this document is underway and in the near future—we think in about 10 days or 2 weeks' time, mobile construction detachments will start arriving here which can work autonomously. They will begin the work of constructing housing, kindergartens, hospitals, and so on. Together with this, our union ministries which have works here have been involved. The ministries will be carrying out this work independently with the help of resources they have at their disposal at other enterprises in our country.

So, you can see that we are channeling several such streams. Today, after a morning of working everything out, we flew out to the region and visited a rural locality. I have to say that the picture there is no less serious than in the towns. Twenty-eight villages are totally destroyed, and around 100 are partially destroyed. A rayon center not far from Leninakan suffered very severely. They have 5-storey buildings there and 40 buildings collapsed. Rescue work is also underway there. Therefore, after our meeting with you, we will assemble specialists today and will plan measures for how to help the villages. We are entrusting this work to the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, which will now plan specific measures, together with the republic. We shall put responsible people in each village, and tomorrow we will begin the village offensive, as they say.

Food has been organized. There are no great problems with food today. Of course, today the question in general is that of the organization of work, because sometimes the roads are very jammed and air transport is not coping, because we have to bring in equipment, materials, tents, and blankets and also take the injured people away. So, the roads are very jammed, although we are taking very serious measures.

We are gradually restoring electricity and lighting, although in the town of Spitak there is nothing, and there is nowhere even to hang a single lamp. There is nothing there. And water—we are bringing in water. So this, roughly, is the kind of work which is being conducted. Overall, all of our country, the whole country, has involved itself in this work. I have to say that this is an unprecedented expression of fervor in our country. Indeed, we are even not managing to receive all of the material aid; cargoes are coming in from all corners. And a certain amount of difficulty has arisen.

All in all, specialists and volunteers are coming in from all sides. So we are fully confident that we will cope with this task. What is the schedule for the second stage? We are planning to restore everything here in 2 years. to restore all of the housing, or to build new housing—often it will simply be new housing—all of the sociocultural facilities need to be built, the hospitals, in 2 years. We are very grateful for aid in the form of medical equipment. We consider this to be a very great help because we, in this country, do not, unfortunately, have sufficient medical equipment. And when we build these hospitals next year, of course, we will equip them with the equipment which is now being donated by other countries. So this is the task which has been set: to resolve this problem in 2 years.

Of course, the entire USSR will be working on it. It is difficult at present to assess how much the restoration will cost us. The figure at present is R5 billion. This will, in effect, be the minimum, I think. In reality it could be even more. so, the country has to find both financial resources and material resources; of course, we also have to bring in builders from all over the Soviet Union.

[Announcer] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov then answered correspondents' questions.

[Unidentified man] How do you assess the organization of the rescue work and the measures taken to eliminate the aftermath of the natural disaster which has hit Armenia?

[Ryzhkov] I assess it in this way: Some of our services functioned very precisely. I did not mention the medical services in my opening address. The medical services functioned—and are functioning—very well, very well. Suffice it say that on the first day, when it happened, when there was no power, no water or anything there, they were in field conditions—tents and hospitals were set up—2,500 of the most complicated operations were performed. In 24 hours! So, medical services functioned very well, and still are, although things are now proceeding more calmly.

Now, our problem with medicine is another matter. We need to think very seriously about the sanitary state of these towns. This is a great problem. You understand that there are people under these disintegrated blocks. That is why we must and we are carrying out large-scale work so that no epidemics should develop here. Specialists have arrived now from all regions and they will set to work. This is the assessment of medicine. We believe that, on the whole, from the point of view of enthusiasm,

from the point of view of the selflessness of labor, of dedication, we cannot make any complaints against anyone—against absolutely anyone.

From the point of view of the organization of work, of course, one would like it to be better. But one must take into account, comrades, the circumstance: the psychological state of this population. This is a completely special case. The people, those who lived in these towns, are working only on the apartment blocks where their relatives died—and they have all died—and they are not leaving these blocks to go anywhere at all. You can see a man sitting on this apartment block for a day, 2 days, 5 days. He is searching there, even raking through with his hands; he is looking for his people. Of course, humanly, we can all understand this and it could not be any other way, it could not be.

But, from the point of view of the organization of work, it is already difficult to achieve a more efficient organization here. We are doing everything in order to introduce an organizational channel. On the whole, our view is as follows: The supplies of materials and equipment are no longer raising any doubts today. We have gathered pace; we have created reserves; we have brought into action the whole of the country and we have no problem. Today the problem is organization, the organization of work. And everyday problems, all kinds of problems, arise here. They are being resolved in this room, on these seats where you are now sitting.

[Unidentified man] Together with other colleagues, I was in the town of Leninakan. And my impresssion was the following: I saw many soldiers at the airport, but, speaking honestly, I did not see any soldiers rescuing people precisely where the residents were rescuing those who were trapped in the ruins. How many soldiers are now engaged in precisely such work and how many soldiers are now (?digging out people) in this zone?

[Ryzhkov] We brought the Army in a major way. And I am saying once again that the Soviet Army is doing a very great deal in this region.

You have formed a certain impression. Well, obviously you have your point of view. I will say this: yes, we did indeed introduce two military subunits into two towns, and I have already said, into Leninakan and Spitak; we brought in an assault landing regiment and an assault brigade. We brought them in in order to create a normal situation. If you had been there on the first day—or as I was in the early hours of the second day—you would have been convinced that it was impossible to work there.

[Yazov interrupts] You would not have gotten there, it's as simple as that.

[Ryzhkov] You would never have gotten there. You would not even be asking me a question today because you simply would not have gotten there. Therefore, we did indeed bring in those troops. We surrounded the town, and if you have not noticed it we are not letting through a single passenger car. If you please, people travel up to this zone, leave their cars—and you have probably seen that there are parking lots there, where hundreds and thousands of vehicles are standing—and then go on foot into the town to find their relatives, and so on. It is therefore necessary for us to create public order. we do not conceal the fact that we have done this, and we think that we have been right to do it.

From the viewpoint of the military subunits, their participation, they are taking the most active part. First, we mobilized them; we deployed seven engineering regiments, two of which are already working—in Leninakan itself, incidentally. You have noticed the military machines which are clearing the obstructions, and so on. These are the two regiments which have arrived and they are now at work. Five regiments are in motion. They are busy with the water and with communications which they are restoring, and so on. Dmitriy Timofeyevich, what have you to add?

[Yazov] There is no secret about this: 18,990 servicemen are working in the disaster zone; 10,626 men are working directly in Leninakan. You said that you had seen many people at the airport. Soldiers are indeed working at the airport to unload as quickly as possible the planes which arrive.

In Leninakan there is a small area for unloading. It takes just five aircraft, and the turn-round of the aircraft depends upon how fast they are unloaded. So there are soldiers to do the unloading both there and in Yerevan. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, the chairman of the commission, has given the most difficult work to us. This most difficult work consists of delivering the equipment; military transport aircraft are operating—they have made 205 flights. I was in Leninakan today when the 205th flight came in.

[Slyunkov] How many aircraft do we have in operation?

[Yazov] In all, 150 aircraft. But although we have a lot of aircraft, there are few airports: There is one airport in Leninakan and one in Yerevan. Then there is the bad weather, the crashes, and other things...and we are taking no more than 40-47 flights a day. We have built a water pipeline and brought water into Spitak. Not just anyone can do this work—specialists have to do it. Yes, the railway is also being restored. The railway went out of action on the Leninakan-Kirovakan section. The unblocking of sidings and tracks has also now been entrusted to us. So if you do not see a lot of servicemen in buildings where dismantling is taking place, this is evidently only because the majority of them are in coveralls, and are therefore not distinguishable from the civilian population. In Leninakan alone there are 10,626 servicemen working, as I told you. This is in addition to those who are maintaining law and order. That is all I have to say.

[Ryzhkov] So we are putting the airlift on to the broad shoulders of the military transport aircraft—and it is proceeding. We are, indeed, entrusting very complicated and difficult work to them, but when the airports are opened and we are not transporting the injured, then 10 minutes are allotted to unload an aircraft carrying equipment—reckon it up yourself. Of course, when an aircraft arrives, these servicemen, the soldiers instanteously pounce on it and start to get the excavators or cranes and so on out right away. The aircraft has to leave its stand immediately. Because otherwise we would not transport anything. A mass of freight is moving. We are sending by rail what can be sent by rail, but we need the equipment today, we need tents, we need clothing. So the Army is doing a great deal.

[Arutyunyan] Nikolay Ivanovich, we have also seen how the military subunits are actively involved in the rescue work, too.

[Ryzhkov] Yes.

[Announcer] Important problems were raised in the questions of one of the correspondents: The problem of burying the debris of the houses and the problem of distributing the aid that is coming in. Answering them, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov said:

[Ryzhkov] Indeed, on these issues the problems have still not been worked through sufficiently deeply and seriously in order to reduce the amount of debris put on arable land. They have very little arable land in Armenia. And we hear comrades are warning of this. But, you know in the kind of atmosphere in which they are living, people are not thinking at all about arable land, and so part of the arable land is, indeed, being covered. Debris is being thrown along the railroad track. I think that when a few days have passed everything will start to be organized more efficiently, and we will, of course, start to clean up, to find ravines somewhere which can be filled with the debris, and so on. So, in this respect, we can also see that as yet little order has been introduced here.

In respect of the assistance, we have two groups: Comrade Lev Alekseyevich Voronin, my deputy, is working on all the domestic supplies and he—as you know, he is chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply—is coordinating all movement of material valuables across the country. We have reached agreement with the leadership of Armenia, with the first secretary, with Comrade Sarkisyan, chairman of the Council of Ministers, that the republic will take on the foreign aid. As far as I know, and we were working on this yesterday, a special group has been formed which is to keep a register of all this, to provide storage and, accordingly, to supply the people today with what they need today. Things that will come in useful tomorrow, when we will be doing the restoration work, this aid, this boon, needs to be stored.

[Slyunkov] If you are talking from the point of view of the food, medicines, and medical services we have not heard a single request for food nor a complaint about the range of food. But if there has been even a single case where difficulties have arisen, then we have not heard of it.

[Ryzhkov] They have got the food supplies going now.

[Arutyunyan] Even in the most remote mountain village which we visited today people came up and said thank you for the food which has been organized and sent right there...

[Slyunkov interrupts] There has not been a single request, a single complaint.

[Ryzhkov] There was an interesting incident. As Suren Gurgenovich said, we were in a remote village and we could see a bus approaching this village. We came out and went up to the bus, and said: Who are you? Several people were travelling on it. The bus was half full of food products: there was bread and cheese and other things there, food products. They named the rayon they came from.

[Arutyunyan interrupts] Ashtaraskiy rayon in Armenia.

[Ryzhkov] Yes; we have come, we have come, well, now we are going through the villages and we distribute foodstuffs. I say; How many kilometers, then, from the village in which you live? One hundred and twenty kilometers. Well, who compelled them? No one compelled them; they went of their own accord. So, of course, there are numerous shortcomings, too, but people, people have a very responsive attitude, a very responsive one.

[Unidentified correspondent] Yesterday in Leninakan I was repeatedly told by people that poor construction is, to a certian extent, to be blamed for the scope of the destruction. What is your reaction? And, secondly, what lessons are there for the future?

[Ryzhkov] We are of the opinion that, of course, the crudest violations have, in our view, been permitted to occur, both from the point of view of design and from the point of view of execution. That is why last night we took a decision; we set up a special government commission to investigate this matter. In the commission are our prominent construction scientists who have a good understanding of this matter. So today or tomorrow I will sign this document; more accurate information is now being obtained on which of these scientists are on the spot, and they will be carrying out specific investigations. Once these have been completed, very serious conclusions will, of course, be drawn. There are very many violations, very many violations. If the houses had been built with good quality, no such thing would, of course, have taken place.

What is to be done in the long-term? Well, I have already said that designers are currently here, including seismological experts who are well informed on all aspects of construction in such reigons. Their view is that construction is possible and necessary right here—but no higher than 3-4 storeys and with special precautionary measures; that is to say construction must be able to withstand 9 points. [as heard]

Of course, the question is being asked—many people ask the question, both in towns and in villages, where we visited today—the question is being asked: Can we live here or not? We say: You can! But are there guarantees that no more such earthquakes will take place? I say: Well, who can give you guarantees? No one will ever give a guarantee of this kind, because science has not yet reached a point when it can say with precision when an earthquake will take place, what kind of an earthquake it will be, and so on. Well, of course people are fearful, at present.

Well, we say that no one, of course, is able to give guarantees. The fact that tremors continue to this very day is all the more frightening, you know—to this very day! And today such tremors also took place in the rayon where we were. And after 7 December—how many did we have, 900, isn't that right?

[Slyunkov] Since 7 December 367 tremors have taken place; 94 of them exceeded 5.5 points over the first 24 hours.

[Ryzhkov] They are gradually dying down, but the tremors are continuing.

[Unidentified correspondent] Well, it is said that a misfortune brings you closer, a misfortune makes for a greater cohesion. But when we show reportage in the Vremya program, both from Baku and from Azerbaijan, in which it is said how they now want to give assistance to those who have suffered from the earthquake, some people here in Yerevan start alleging that these are mere words; that there is no aid; that no such aid is needed, as it were. Could you give some facts about aid from Azerbaijan?

[Ryzhkov] I have spoken about the cohesion of our people and I am convinced, convinced, that we can reckon that virtually 100 percent of our people are being supportive in this matter, helping in every way. I have already told you in detail about how they are helping.

There are people who do not understand this, and in particular here in Yerevan. We do not understand a certain category of people who, at this moment of national tragedy, when tens of thousands of people have been killed. [sentence as heard] One would think that the only thing to be thought about today is how to save people, how to restore everything that has been destroyed, how people are to live when they are homeless. And these are Armenians, for the most part, their own people.

I must tell you frankly that certain groups of people are spreading all sorts of rumors which are damaging what we are doing today. I could give you many examples. For example, 2 days ago documents appeared—which were signed, by the way, by well-known scientists of Armenia, of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia—that the direction of the earthquake was such that it must have caught the Armenian nuclear power plant. That was the first thing. Then, immediately, a new rumor appeared: There are two chemical works in Kirovakan, so there is a leakage of poisonous gases there—ammonia—and a panic begins. People start to leave for the mountains because of this.

As soon as that panic is over there is another one: They are bringing us water or pumping it to us along a temporary pipeline from a polluted river. A new rumor appears: They are taking the children away. What we are saying, comrades, is that we shall take you, these children and women, into state care. So, the state will support them while they live somewhere else temporarily. How long is temporary? Perhaps 4-5 months, until we get the housing restored. A rumor is being spread that the children are being taken away on purpose; they are being taken to Siberia in order, as they say, to dilute the Armenian people, the Armenian nation.

Is such a thing really possible? Is this really characteristic of Armenians, of certain circles of Armenian society? We do not understand these people; we do not understand them. The entire country has come to help today. And at this time first one question is thrown at us, then a second question, then a third question. And all the time we are forced to keep putting out these fires which are being specially kindled by irresponsible people.

I think that the Armenian people should rebuff these people. How can it be that these inflammatory questions are being raised all the time during this disaster?

Look, go into the countryside. We were in five villages today. Was there any person that spoke about Karabakh? No one spoke of Nagarno-Karabakh.

In Leninakan, perhaps one person comes up with the question: When will the question of Nagarno-Karabakh be resolved? And look at the reaction of these people, the other people. Well, I do not understand any Armenian, but they shout at him and tell him—to put it rather crudely: Shut up, you! You must now rescue people and you start throwing all this at us! That is what they said in Armenian, isn't it?

[Arutyunyan] Yes, correct.

[Ryzkhov] So, at the same time, the situation here is such that people are starting to throw such questions at us? I think that the Armenian people must consider carefully whom they want to follow.

Specifically, with regard to the question you asked about Azerbaijan: It has given aid. It has sent building materials, it has sent fuel and medicines. It sent 20 cranes with crews, and so on. It is giving aid. Azerbaijan, like all all republics, is giving aid.

[Unidentified correspondent] Are there experts' opinions on how long people can continue living under the rubble in the towns?

[Ryzhkov] There are; there is world experience. In Mexico, people were found after 13 days. Mexico's experience is up to 13 days. If a person is uninjured, he can live still longer in general. If he is injured, crushed there, of course, there is a very low probability. Well, we are only, as they say, going on the experience of world practice.

[Unidentified correspondent] Would you be so kind as to tell us in what rayons, and if possible also in Azerbaijan, there is a curfew in force?

[Ryzhkov] In Armenia we have a curfew operating in Yerevan, and a curfew has been introduced in some rayons where there is a mixture of people of Armenian nationality living with Azerbaijanis. How many rayons do you have, 16?

[Arutyunyan] A special situation has been introduced in about 16 rayons.

[Ryzhkov] So, 16 rayons, 16 rural rayons where there is a mixture of people living, and in the city of Yerevan. In Azerbaijan a curfew has been imposed in the city of Baku and 12 rayons where there is also a mixture of people living. That is a special situation. It has no connection with earlier events. It is not the interethnic feuds which have been going on recently, where we were forced to introduce a curfew. [sentence as heard]

[Slyunkov interjects] To unblock the roads.

[Ryzhkov] We were forced to introduce the curfew in order to prevent unpredictable events between two peoples who were inflamed to the limit. We were forced to introduce it, because many are blaming Sumgait, and so on—people were killed in Sumgait. Yes, they were a few hours late in separating the two nationalities. For that reason, to ensure no repetition on a greater scale, we introduced a curfew in those cities, and we were forced to introduce it in rural areas, as I said—16 in Armenia and 12 in Azerbaijan, and in Leninakan. But this one in Leninakan and Spitak is not at all connected with this business. It is in order to ensure normal functioning of the rescue work.

[Unidentified correspondent] (?It is something quite separate?)

[Ryzhkov] Yes, yes. It is in no way connected with the first part.

[Unidentified correspondent] All the same, what is the fate of our Armenian nuclear power plant? On government instructions we had specialists working there from the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian republic, and leading specialists working on those questions.

[Ryzhkov] I shall tell you what the opinion is about the nuclear power plant. The opinion is that we should close it down over a period of 2 years—1989-90. We had intended to do it in 1991, but now we have set the specialists the task of closing the nuclear power plant in 1990. There are two problems. First, the Armenian nuclear power plant provides Armenia with 38 percent of its electricity. It also provides a certain amount of electricity to the Transcaucasus, to Georgia, and to Azerbaijan. So, if we were to close it down today, life would virtually cease in Armenia. That is the first thing.

The second and no less important factor is that even if we could shut it down as far as electricity supplies are concerned, even if we could get the electricity from somewhere else and bring it here to Armenia—and we do not have the capacity to do that—nevertheless, it takes a minimum of 2 years to completely remove all the fuel. To extinguish the power station today and stop the blocks from operating while not removing the fuel would leave things just the same as they are. That is why we are fully convinced of the safety of the station's operations. But taking account of the mood of all of Armenia and so on, for that reason this decision will be taken. I have told you in advance that this decision will be taken. Officially, probably when we are a bit freer from the work we are now doing in Armenia, we shall take an official decision. But I am telling you in advance what it will be.

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you not think that the load on Yerevan airport is too great at the moment for the number of people who are working there?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, the airport is very greatly overstretched. In Leninakan we asked the military to help. They sent servicemen to help with unloading. Unloading is under way and the soldiers are helping. Here, too, of course, there are bottlenecks. So, you see, we are in a ticklish position here. Of course, one could say: Comrades, do not send anything. But when some republic or some foreign country send things, from the goodness of their hearts, can one say: Don't send them? It would be an insult to those great humane feelings. So, we are to some extent trying to regulate these processes.

Nevertheless, we are still largely overstretched. But I think that gradually we shall get into a definite rhythm and everything will fall into place.

[Unidentified speaker] We shall restore the railway within a week.

[Ryzhkov] That's right. The situation on the railway is as follows: If we make a comparison before the misfortune and this morning, the traffic has increased fourfold. We have 350 trains coming in—fourfold. Of course, today we asked the Yerevan party organization to mobilize the Komsomol. And we are even asking now: Do not send students, Komsomol members, into the zone. There are a lot of people there already. Sometimes perhaps they even get in each other's way. Let's get to it here, help to unload the trains, and so on. So, there are these kind of peaks—there will probably be more of them—and our task is to regulate them.

I would like to thank you once again for coming here. We have tried to provide you with the latest information at our disposal. Goodbye.

12 Dec Commission Conference

PM1312130588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the general heading: "The Pain and Concern of the Armenian People Are the Pain and Concern of the Entire Country"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission is working at full stretch in the republic. On 12 December there was another operational working conference which the leaders of union ministries and departments and republican ministers were invited to attend. On-the-spot reports were given: by B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the state of affairs in Leninakan; by N.G. Muradyan, first secretary of the Spitakskiy party raykom, on problems in organizing rescue work in the town, which has been completely destroyed; by L.G. Saakyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, on the provision of social and consumer facilities for the inhabitants of Kirovakan affected by the earthquake.

N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited rural areas of Armenia in the disaster zone for the purpose of accelerating the rescue work there.

They acquainted themselves with the scale of the destruction in Akhuryanskiy, Spitakskiy, and Gugarskiy Rayons. The disaster has hit 15 rural rayons of the republic. Twenty-eight population centers have been completely destroyed. The construction and installation work that has to be done will cost approximately R1.3-1.5 billion. There has been serious damage to processing industry facilities. Fifteen enterprises are completely out of operation.

In conversations with kolkhoz members, workers, villagers, and party and economic leaders, N.I. Ryzhkov and N.N. Slyunkov issued specific instructions on the extensive development of rescue and restoration work.

Emergency measures have been adopted to sharply increase the pace of work in villages destroyed by the earthquake. In particular, 43 large mechanized detachments are being sent in with all the needed equipment. A specific union republic has been allocated to each of the 15 Armenian rayons to give effective assistance, using the manpower and resources of their agro-industrial complexes.

That evening there was a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. The journalists' numerous questions were answered by N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, D.T. Yazov, and S.G. Arutyunyan, Armenian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary.

13 Dec Meeting

LD1312201588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission is continuing its work in Armenia. Here is a TASS report:

Dozens more people were saved in Leninakan over the last 24 hours. Television transmission has been restored in the city, the first television sets have appeared inside the tents, and road transport along the Kirovakan-Stepanavan-Kalinino route has been restored. These reports are coming from rescue and restoration workers on the spot. They are awaited by the republic, they are awaited by the country, and they are scrupulously recorded by the Politburo Commission, because each of these items of information is not just worth its weight in gold, but its weight in human life.

This morning, as usual, an operational working planning meeting took place, chaired by Comrade Ryzhkov. Leaders of union and republican ministries and departments presented reports. Reports on what has been done during the 24 hours were presented by: USSR Minister Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee; Shalayev, AUCCTU chairman; Batalin and Voronin, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; Sarkisyan, chairman of the republican Commission for Rendering Assistance to the Victims, and chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers; and Khodzhamiryan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

This time the rural areas of the republic which suffered destruction were analyzed in great detail. It was noted that intitially the State Agricultural Committees of the Armenian SSR and the USSR were disorganized and confused. Yesterday, once resolute measures were adopted, the situation began to change. Warm clothing,

blankets, and tents have been sent to all rural areas which suffered especially during the earthquake. Portable radio transmitters have been set up in the rayon centers with military assistance. Leaders at various levels have been dispatched to the localities to organize work to rescue people and remove the rubble. They are also instructed to solve all issues connected with the provision of vital needs for the rural population.

The evacuation of women and children from Leninakan and Korovakan goes on. Over the past 24 hours 7,300 persons were dispatched to sanatoriums in Armenia and other regions of the country. The railmen are working in an orderly and conscientious manner. Powerful equipment continues to arrive in the disaster zone from every party of the country. Over the last 24 hours 140 cranes were delivered by various methods of transport and by road. An especially powerful crane is beginning work on dismantling the Spitak Gran product combine—one of the largest in Transcaucasia. During the night 56 dump trucks and 15 bulldozers arrived by rail—by rail—in Leninakan; 600 more dump trucks and 500 residential caravans are on their way.

The bravery and professionalism of the mine rescue teams from the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy were especially noted. By the end of the day 300 more highly-qualified specialist rescuers will arrive in Leninakan from Sverdlovsk. Along with the soldiers from the Soviet Army, the mine rescuers are the main strike force in the struggle for people's lives.

At the same time the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission pointed out a number of serious shortcomings which are hampering the struggle against the consequences of the natural disaster. In particular it was noted that so far the republic's own resources have not been fully or efficiently used. It was demanded that the strictest inventory, and rational use of the cargoes arriving in Armenia in the form of assistance from the Union republics, from individuals, and from abroad be organized. It is necessary to eliminate the possibility of theft and hold sacred the thought that everything collected by the people and sent from their heart to a fraternal republic should certainly and quickly reach the addressee—every single person, child or adult who sufferred from the earthquake. It was recommended that the medicines, medical equipment, and parcels for children be registered with particular care.

The attempts, at this difficult time, by anti-restructuring and hooligan elements to start cynical groundless rumors, deliberately disseminate lies, and stir up interethnic hostility were resolutely condemned. Under the cover of hypocritical phrases and eloquent slogans such champions are not only not helping their people to overcome a dramatic situation but, on the contrary, are pouring salt on open wounds, taking no real practical part whatsoever in the common intensive efforts to deal with the consequences of the natural disaster.

Ryzhkov Chairs Rebuilding Meeting

PM1312160588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Special correspondent N. Dombkovskiy report: "Legend Relived in Heroic Deed. Our Special Correspondent Reports From the Area of the Natural Disaster"]

[Excerpts] Armenian SSR—[Passage omitted] Nikolay Ryzhkov [chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers] has chaired a conference of deputy chairmen of the union republic Councils of Ministers responsible for construction questions. It was decided that each republic will determine where and what it will build, and that each will immediately get to work in accordance with the urgently created general plans to rebuild the cities of Leninakan and Spitak. The first groups of specialists are already arriving in Yerevan. [passage omitted]

...In the opinion of competent specialists, it will take no less than 7 days to fully clear the obstructions and evacuate the victims. After this it will be possible to start the full-scale reconstruction and restoration of the cities and villages.

All told, 5 million square meters of housing will have to be built, hundreds of kilometers of roads and communications restored, and enterprises and sociocultural and consumer facilities rebuilt. All this will take no less than 2 years. [passage omitted]

Ryzhkov Visits Stepanavan

LD1312230888 Moscow TASS in English 2206 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Yerevan December 13 TASS—[Passage omitted] Politburo Commission members visited Stepanavan. In the Stepanavan District, they were told that tens of young and energetic people, without waiting for instructions from above, had organised teams to clear up wreckage and pitched the first batch of tents that had arrived in the area.

Ryzhkov told activists of the regional Communist Party Committee that people should be encouraged and brought back into normal state.

He said people's destiny and the revival of Armenian cities and villages depended on it.

Commission members visited the Tsakhaovit village in the Aragas District.

Their conversations with rural workers showed that people who have survived the tragedy are ready to work without respite to revive life on their native land.

More than 40 million roubles of donations have been deposited on Yerevan's relief fund account 700412 as of December 13 from all parts of the country.

Commission Visits Villages

PM1412101188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Greater Effort Without Panicking: CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission Continues Work in Armenia"]

[Excerpt] 13 Dec—[Passage omitted] In the intensive schedule of aircraft arrivals and departures at Yerevan's "Evartnots" airport there is just a 3-minute slot each day for the helicopters to take off carrying the members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission. They head to the north to the disaster-stricken villages which are furthest from Yerevan. It is just a 20-minute flight to Stepanavan, the first stop on the journey of N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, and D.T. Yazov. They were accompanied on their flight by S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

There are 2,000 Communists in Stepanavanskiy Rayon. In conversation with the commission members party raykom First Secretary Yu.G. Cheshmartiyan said that the hour of trials had revealed dozens of energetic young organizers who took the situation in residential districts into their own hands without waiting for orders, organized teams to clear the damaged buildings, and quickly erected the first consignment of tents which had been sent to the rayon.

You have to lift people's spirits and get them in shape for work, N.I. Ryzhkov advised raykom aktiv members. People's fate and the rebirth of Armenia's cities and villages depend on this.

The residents of Stepanavan received with gratitude the news that volunteer construction teams are being set up in all the union republics and in many oblasts to help the afflicted regions.

The next stage of the helicopter's journey brought it to the very foot of the mountains—to Tsakhkaovit settlement in Aragatskiy Rayon. The snow is already on the ground there and on it the fresh tracks of the first crane truck to arrive there are clearly visible. It is an unfamiliar picture: The helicopter was not greeted by children when it landed on the outskirts of the settlement. The reason is that there simply aren't any children here. N.I. Ryzhkov was told that the children have already been taken away by relatives living in other rayons of Armenia.

Conversations with rural workers showed that the people who experienced the tragedy are recovering and are ready to work tirelessly to restore life to their native land. They express wholehearted gratitude to all Soviet people who shared this common grief with them and who gave them moral and material help. There was a further piece of good news: as of December 13, over R40 million had been paid into account No 700412 in Yerevan from all parts of the country—an account representing truly nationwide sympathy and solidarity.

Air Tragedies, Air Transport Considered

*Announcements on Il-76 Crash

WA18010281 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Dec 88 First Edition p 1

[Announcements by the CPSU Central Committee and the Ministry of Defense and the Main Political Directorate]

[Text]

From the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers:

An Il-76 military transport aircraft crashed on 11 December while approaching Leninakan Airport (Armenian SSR). Nine crewmembers and 69 servicemen, who were bound for Leninakan to participate in earthquake relief efforts, were killed.

It is with a feeling of sorrow and compassion that we express deep sympathy to relatives and friends of the deceased, who were hastening to the aid of the fraternal Armenian people and who deserve the everlasting gratitude of the Soviet people.

Signed by the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers

From the USSR Ministry of Defense and the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy

The USSR Ministry of Defense and the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy report with deep sorrow that an Il-76 military transport aircraft crashed on 11 December while approaching Leninakan Airport (Armenian SSR). Nine crewmembers and 69 servicemen, who were bound for Leninakan to participate in earthquake relief efforts, were killed.

It is with a feeling of sorrow and compassion that the USSR Ministry of Defense and the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy express deep sympathy to relatives and friends of the deceased, who were hastening in the performance of their military duty to the aid of the Armenian people. The fond memory of the faithful sons of the fatherland will remain forever in the hearts of Army and Navy soldiers, and of all Soviet people.

TV Report on Crashes, Transport

LD1312235988 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 13 December, in its "Vremya" newscast, broadcasts a report by correspondent G. Sedov on the work of Air Force pilots who are

flying freight into Armenia. The program begins with a shot of Sedov at a snowbound airport interviewing the commander of one of the aircraft. The commander says he is transporting a crane and 20 tonnes of foodstuffs, as well as workers to help in the work in Armenia. The commander also says that about 300 heavy transport aircraft are involved in flying freight into Armenia.

Sedov then interviews Military Air transport commander V.V. Yefanov who says that so far 249 cranes, 30 excavators, and a large quantity of other equipment has been sent to Yerevan and Leninakan. The only problem is that the airports slow things down due to insufficient capacity, but things are getting better all the time.

Sedov then asks Yefanov: "Could you explain the causes of these two aircraft crashes?" Yefanov replies: "As far as our aircraft is concerned, it was nothing to do with the aviation equipment; the equipment is reliable and works perfectly. And any rumors to the effect that they were flying without sufficient fuel, or that something else happened have no truth whatsoever." He goes on to say: "There is great intensivity of flights in the area of the airports, which are in mountainous areas. Leninakan airport is at a height of 1,524 meters, so descent to the runway is made more difficult. Furthermore, there are virtually no landing lights in this region, and the flight was carried out at night. We have no other precise information at present. Once the commission has made its inquiries, the appropriate conclusions will be drawn."

Yefimov on Crash, Aid Flights

PM1312193588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 88 First Edition p 6

[V. Chebakov "Reportage From Air Force Central Command Post. The Zone Is Open to Aircraft"]

[Text] 12 December, 1500 hours. The office of Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, Air Force commander in chief.

Give us aircraft as a priority!—someone's irritated voice can be heard shouting into the receiver of the government communication line. And then, more calmly: Comrade Marshal Aleksandr Nikolayevich, please understand, it is the republic that is asking....

Such telephone calls have been coming in for the past 4 days from various parts of the country, Yefimov says. People's emotional stress is deeply disturbing, but the order is to give priority to deliveries of heavy equipment to Armenia—cranes, bulldozers, excavators. ...The planning and allocation of aircraft and the supervision of their use is in the hands of Colonel General of Aviation V. Pankin, chief the Air Force Main Staff.

[Chebakov] How many military transport aircraft are currently being used to deliver goods to the disaster zone?

[Pankin] More than 300, including An-124's, Il-76's, An-22's, and An-12's. You know, I can admit that in almost 50 years of service in the Air Force, I have never experienced such a critical situation. So many aircraft in the air in one restricted area! The airports in Yerevan and Leninakan are simply not capable of accommodating such a large number of heavy aircraft. Nor are civil aviation staff used to such a tremendous load. We are now working together. Operational groups have been set up, we are constantly transmitting information on which aircraft and where are waiting for permission to take off, at what airfields they are based... [Pankin ends]

I learn that one of the "Ruslans" is being unloaded in Yerevan. The giant aircraft has delivered three powerful cranes from the Liebherr company in Stuttgart. Another such plane is leaving for London tomorrow to fetch a batch of prefabricated panel houses.

In this case, Aleksandr Nikolayevich says, I must say a word of praise for the USSR Foreign Ministry staff. Our pilots are flying foreign missions without service passports. A year ago it would have been difficult to imagine anything like this.

[Chebakov] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, how did our Il-76 crash?

[Yefimov] A special commission is conducting an investigation. It will reveal the actual cause. What can I tell you in the meantime? It is difficult to fly in Armenia. I myself served there at one time. There are the mountains, complex meteorological conditions. And the pilots were eager to deliver goods at any price. At times it was necessary to simply restrain them. According to specialists, it is possible that the aircraft commander, Captain Nikolay Brilev, class-I military pilot, made a mistake. The following is a possible scenario. The atmospheric pressure of the airfield is set on the altimeter. At low altitude airports it is 760mm. However, Leninakan airport is located at an altitude of 1,500 meters above sea level. The air pressure there is 634mm. Even if the commander had set it at 734mm, for instance, the error in altitude would amount to more than 1,000 meters. He made visual contact with the airport and started the descent. Below and ahead was impenetrable darkness. A mountain in the flight path, and the mistake in altitude played its fatal role. They were on their way to help people and lost their own lives... [Yefimov ends]

1530 hours. Central Command Post.

I arrived together with the chief of the TsKP [Central Transportation Committee], Major General of Aviation L. Chervyakov. There is an expression in the Army—a situation approaching frontline conditions. It seemed inappropriate at that moment because it was a truly frontline situation. Maps, charts, graphs, lit up panels, about 10 telephones ringing at once. People were working under pressure.

Duty shifts now run for 36 hours rather than 24 hours, Leonid Mikhailovich told me. Staffing has been been increased by 50 percent. A mass of questions has to be resolved. At the moment, for instance, 1 "Ruslan," 23 AN's, and 60 IL-76's are on their way. The rest are being loaded. During the first 2 days we had special problems with unloading. It was taking too long, between 3-5 hours. The situation has improved now, we are down to 40-50 minutes.

The "Duty General," Major General of Aviation A. Avdeyev, told me that on the night of 11-12 December 97 aircraft were waiting for permission to take off for Yerevan and Leninakan at Transcaucasian airports. But the weather was constantly letting them down. From 0500 hours to 1000 hours a fog descends and visibility is poor. The best time from 1000 hours to 1800 is, of course, allocated to foreign aircraft—C-130's, C-5A's, DC-8's. And the bad time—the night, morning, and dusk is allocated to military transport aircraft.

By 1600 hours on Monday 129 heavy cranes, 39 excavators, 122 special trucks, 22 tractors, a blood transfusion station, some 300 tonnes of medical equipment, 79 tonnes of food, and 5,985 rescue workers, medics, and other helpers had been delivered to the disaster zone and Yerevan.

Colonel Igor Nechayev is talking about the weather. Luckily, it promises to be favorable during the next few days—calm with good visibility. The disaster zone is open to aircraft.

1800 hours. 110 aircraft are on their way with goods for the disaster area...

SFRY Group To Investigate Crash

LD1312234788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1922 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—A Yugoslav Air Force commission arrived in Yerevan this evening to investigate the causes of a disaster in which the 7-member crew of a Yugoslav aircraft ferrying supplies to the people of Armenia were killed.

Immediately after their arrival, members of the commission headed by Major General Angel Oncevski joined their Soviet colleagues in work to establish and explain the causes of the disaster in which a Yugoslav military transport plane crashed on approaching Yerevan on 12 December at 0223 Moscow time.

Further Reportage on Situation Within Armenia

Crowd Tries To Free Activists

PM1312153188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Unattributed roundup of reports concerning the Armenian earthquake: "Latest News"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The USSR MVD press bureau reports: Against the background of Soviet peoples' universal efforts and readiness to extend a helping hand to the disaster victims, the attempts by certain extremist elements to drive wedges between the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan look particularly unacceptable. Under the influence of such persons, a group of between 100 and 300 citizens on 10 December in the central rayon of Yerevan put forward demands that aid not be accepted from Azerbaijan and that children not be allowed to be taken outside the republic.

Impeding the traffic, irresponsible persons among activists of the "Karabakh" committee attempted without authorization to remove buses from routes in the city, supposedly in order to take volunteers to the disaster region. Despite repeated demands by representatives of the military commandant and internal affairs organs' staffers that the illegal action cease, their illegal activity continued. Consequently 15 persons, including 6 members of the "Karabakh" committee, were detained for violating the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 23 November 1988.

On 11 December a crowd, egged on by activists of the "Karabakh" committee, attempted to free the detainees. But the measures that were taken dispersed the crowd. In the process 12 servicemen were injured.

Background to Activists' Arrest

PM1312192788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Dec 88 First Edition p 2

[Special correspondent Major O. Vladykin dispatch: "Instigators. Our Special Correspondent Reports From Yerevan"]

[Text] On 11 December in Yerevan a large group of city residents, in violation of the restrictions imposed by the curfew, staged an unsanctioned demonstration to demand the release of A. Akopyan, B. Araktsyan, K. Vartanyan, S. Gevorkyan, V. Manukyan, and L. Ter-Petrosyan, members and activists of the so-called "Karabakh" committee who had been detained under existing legislation.

The demonstrators were stopped by troop subunits and the militia near the intersection of Oktemberyan Boulevard and Nar-Dosa Street. They were told not to violate public order, to obey the ordinances introduced in the city, and to disperse. However, the repeated appeals had no effect. Moreover, certain activists of the so-called "Karabakh" committee put forward inflammatory slogans. In response to the legitimate demands of the military command, the demonstrators began to stone the servicemen. The troop subunits were compelled to take all necessary measures to stop the illegal actions.

The military command and the Armenian SSR MVD called on the residents of Yerevan and the population centers where the curfew is in force not to succumb to the

provocations and incitement, to strictly observe the established order, and to display prudence and high responsibility during these difficult days for our republic's people.

Lieutenant Colonel R. Karpov, commander of the guard sector, described what actually happened. The republican House of the Writers Union is located in the territory that he oversees. Hitherto this had been regarded as a quiet spot, so it had not attracted the attention of the military administration. However, from the morning of 10 December a crowd suddenly began to gather there. At first there were a few dozen people, and later hundreds. With every passing hour more and more people appeared. At 1600 hours Guards Lt Col R. Karpov and Guards Major S. Shagunov, his deputy for political affairs, drove up to the House of Writers and noticed that people were constantly going from the crowd into the building, returning later in a state of some excitement, and immediately finding themselves the center of attention among the gathering.

The officers too went into the building to find out the reason for the crowd of citizens. They looked in a few rooms and in one of them found a group of people who were discussing something in a businesslike fashion. They asked in whose presence they had the honor of finding themselves. And the reply they heard was:

"We are members of the 'Karabakh' committee."

"The 'Karabakh' committee was dissolved back in March by decision of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium...."

"Yes, there was such a decision," the people in the room mumbled. "Sorry about the slip of the tongue. We call ourselves the committee of the Karabakh movement of Armenia. No one has dissolved that yet."

"All right. Tell us then, is it you who have assembled those people outside the building?"

"No, they came of their own accord to discuss their problems and concerns. Who can forbid them that?"

The officers had to remind them that in conditions of the curfew it is forbidden to hold unsanctioned rallies, demonstrations, and meetings in the city streets and squares. The entire population of Yerevan, where no one has yet lifted the curfew, has been notified of this. And Karpov told the committee members to use their proclaimed influence to advise the citizens to disperse to ensure that disturbances did not arise in the crowd, and that there was no need for the commander to take measures to stop them. The proposal seemed to be greeted with understanding.

Ashot Manucharyan, one of the leaders of the informal organization, came out into the street and read out the sector commandant's demand. People did indeed start to disperse, but...within a half-hour they had reassembled in even greater numbers.

Then Lieutenant General A. Makashov, who was appointed military commandant of Yerevan on 9 December, arrived at the House of Writers with a group of officers. This time he read out the demand to disperse to those present. And the same ploy was used again. At first they dispersed, but then they reassembled a little while later.

By 1900 the crowd was approximately a thousand-strong. Provocative shouts and abuse directed at the USSR Government and the Armed Forces rang out. Committee officials started to collect signatures for petitions of some kind. Leaflets appeared. Some of them found their way into officers' hands, are they were stunned by what they contained....

Guards Lieutenant Colonel Karpov showed me several copies of leaflets signed by the committee of the Karabakh movement of Armenia. At a time of great sorrow for the Armenian people, when the entire country and all Soviet people are making incredible efforts to save the victims of the earthquake, it is impossible to read these foul leaflets without trembling:

"...We urge agitprop organs and the mass media to show decency; there should be an end to the cheap and senseless propaganda of internationalism and an end to the trumpeting about the Azerbaijani government decision to send aid to Armenia."

So that's the way it is. The committee members, it transpires, don't need this conciliatory step. What has sympathy for the Armenian people—which they have so often accused the Azerbaijanis of lacking—to do with them? It is more beneficial and convenient for them to fuel dissension among people who have lived alongside each other for centuries. Even at a time when the hearts of thousands and thousands of Armenians are being rent by the pain of losing near and dear ones, when they are in great need of support, there are demagogues and adventurists for whom their kinsmen's sorrow is no way commensurate with their own ambitions.

"...We call on the central government not to use the Armenian people's tragedy to declare an all-union construction project and not to attempt to change the ethnic composition of Armenia."

Nationalist intoxication truly leads to Jesuitical logic. Let towns and cities be destroyed, let half a million people be left without a roof over their heads, so long as people are not reminded that it is possible to live peacefully, helping each other. How can you talk about any kind of morality here? There simply isn't any.

I wish to cite the names of those who have forgotten honor and conscience for the sake of their selfish ambitions. Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Samvel Gevorkyan, Karen Vartanyan, Aleksan Akopyan, Bobken Araktsyan, Vozgen Manukyan, Ashot Manucharyan. It was they and their henchmen who gathered at the House of Writers 10 December and prepared packages of provocative leaflets. They did not even shrink from using sacred maternal feelings for their unsavory purposes. They concocted the text of a letter to the USSR Government on behalf of the women of the republic, and went out among the crowd to collect signatures. What does the letter contain? There are complaints about slow rescue work and poor equipment availability in the disaster zone...followed by the statement: "We resolutely reject any assistance from the Azerbaijan SSR"; then arguments that the ecological situation in Armenia is bad; and then another statement: "We demand that rescued children be housed only within the borders of our republic."

I am confident that people will understand the military command in Yerevan, which decided to put an end to these arbitrary actions (what else can you call incitement among people who have experienced a terrible tragedy and are in an extremely agitated state?). Eighteen people caught committing provocative actions were detained in accordance with Article 1 of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 23 November 1988. This states that in localities and centers of population where a curfew has been imposed, people who fuel ethnic dissension through their actions...can be detained for up to 30 days under administrative procedures.

The detainees were taken to the nearest commandant's office from the House of Writers—the premises in Yerevan's Spandaryanskiy Rayon. In order to ascertain as quickly and objectively as possible the degree to which each of them was involved in the provocations, an investigation began immediately. For this the detainees were divided into two groups, and personal interrogations were conducted in each. I was allowed to be present during one of the interviews.

I will not go into the details of what I saw and heard. I will merely mention that the interrogation was conducted with extreme correctness. Guards Lt Col Karpov, who conducted it, and the officers who assisted him made every effort to avoid infringing the rights and dignity of the detainees, and were strictly guided by only the powers granted to them in connection with the operation of the curfew. Furthermore, it was obvious that the servicemen wanted to get to the bottom of what had happened.

When, for example, it became clear that Torgom Nalbaldyan had found himself among the committee activists by accident, when he was trying to find a way through to where the ruins in the disaster zone were being excavated, he was told where he ought to turn for advice in such instances and immediately released. A detained woman was also sent home for humanitarian reasons, although there was a case against her.

There was also a case against Ashot Manucharyan. He made no secret of the fact that he belongs to the committee of the Karabakh movement of Armenia. And that he had edited the texts of those provocative leaflets. But he protested at being detained. He argued that he is an Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy and enjoys deputy's immunity. Admittedly he was unable to provide the appropriate identification. So the sector commandant immediately took it upon himself to ascertain whether Manucharyan was a member of the organs of power. He telephoned for information and ascertained that there is indeed such a deputy. After this Ashot Garnikovich was told that the military administration had no power to detain him any longer. He was merely asked on behalf of the military command and for simple humanitarian reasons to use his authority as a deputy to help maintain public order at a time of nationwide mourning.

"I give you my oath that I will do everything possible for this," Manucharyan answered.

But the following morning soldiers discovered on the walls of many buildings announcements calling on Yerevan citizens to participate in unauthorized rallies. From 1000 the commandant's office started receiving alarming reports of attacks on military patrols. Groups of rampaging thugs were throwing rocks and sharpened sticks at them. Four soldiers from the MVD internal troops were taken to the hospital with severe injuries. Then a report came in that a military fuel tanker had been stopped in the city by a rampaging crowd several dozen strong. They had first showered the vehicle with rocks and broken the windows, and then they had dragged Ensign E. Minosyan and Private A. Biknadze out of the cab and started to beat them. Subsequently both of them also had to be taken to the hospital.

As midday approached the military commandant's office received a report of a large concentration of people at the railroad station. Somebody had been spreading an inflammatory rumor that a train to Yerevan had been attacked in Baku. The commandant's office duty officer immediately called the capital of the neighboring republic and then called representatives of the military transport service. The rumor proved to be false. A group of officers and soldiers headed for the station to restore order and calm people down. Then suddenly a new report came in. A column of demonstrators approaching 2,000-strong was heading toward V.I. Lenin Square from the House of Writers. They were chanting the slogans contained in the leaflets which had been seized the previous day.

I headed straight for the square. It was already cordoned off by soldiers. A soldier wearing earphones and carrying a radio was constantly relaying to an officer standing

next to him reports from observation posts about the direction being followed by the column of demonstrators. An involuntary thought came to me: Who was leading them? Most of the members of the committee of the Karabakh movement had been detained for 30 days; only one had been released.... Then the soldier with the radio said something to Lieutenant Colonel Yegorov. He came up to me and said, not without bitterness: "One of the observation posts has just reported that Ashot Manucharyan has been spotted among the demonstrators."

Leaders of Yerevan March Arrested

PM1312165588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 88 First Edition p 6

[Report "From the Disaster Areas" by PRAVDA special correspondents A. Sakisyan and V. Khatuntsev: "Time Has No Boundaries"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] There was a city rally in Kirovakan attended by 10,000 people which the rumormongers, trying to dissuade people from leaving the city, did not manage to slip into. The decision it [not specified] made is the only correct one: All men stay; children leave with their mothers and the old folk.

Some people have seen the earthquake as an opportunity to inflame nationalist passions. Dark forces, representing a mishmash of opportunists, nationalists, prosperous conservatives, and mafiosi, set to work spreading the most incredible rumors. They are trying to get the masses, especially young people, behind them, taking advantage of their state of mental shock and political inexperience. The provocateurs' propaganda is clearly directed against the CPSU leadership. [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 14 December in its Second Edition on page 6, in a similar report attributed only to Khantuntsev, adds: "The provocateurs' actions are clearly directed against the CPSU leadership and M.S. Gorbachev personally."]

At the republic's ministry of internal affairs we were told that around 300 people gathered on 10 December on Marshal Bagramayan Avenue in Yerevan and tried to organize an unauthorized march. They were disrupting city transport services on the pretext that buses were needed, so they claimed, in the disaster areas. Some members of the disbanded "Karabakh" committee were involved.

"They did not respond to repeated warnings to disperse," V. Yerin, republic first deputy minister of internal affairs, told us. "Because the curfew was being broken, the group of people was arrested. The main organizers of the march were identified. Six people—A. Akopyan, B. Araktsyan, K. Vartanyan, S. Gevorkyan, V. Manukyan, and L. Ter-Petrosyan—were arrested."

Rumors, Leaflets Spread

LD1312230588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Correspondent Ye. Orlov, identified by screen caption] The people of Armenia have been hit by terrible grief. Nobody wants to speak or think about anything else at this time. However, there are still people who, even in this tragic situation, are trying to destabilize the situation. Yesterday, for example, rumors were sweeping Yerevan that a new earthquake would take place during the day: The authorities knew about this, but they were keeping quiet. In order to stifle panic the local radio station was compelled to interrupt its programs several times to calm the population and to suggest that they return to their normal business and affairs. It might have been possible to see all this as a joke, but it was too malicious at a time like this.

Leaflets appeared containing threats against the management of the nuclear power station if it didn't close the enterprise within 48 hours. There was also talk that financial aid from abroad was being concentrated in the hands of some kind of specially created foreign society, and that the Armenian children who had suffered were being sent to other towns, allegedly in order to inflict damage on their ethnic group [nanesti uron natsii].

People gathered in the streets, fidgeting and agitated. I approached one of these groups, which was reading some leaflets. I awaited their reaction. [passage indistinct] They ripped up the leaflets in front of me, so I can't even manage to show them to you. But, on the other hand, what's the point? Probably it's all very clear. [video shows people gathering in street, chatting; shots of traffic; close-up of people studying leaflets and tearing them up]

Many of the people of Yerevan continue to discuss the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to the disaster areas, and his interview at the airport. [passage omitted]

Official on Chemical Works

LD1412152688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] The biggest enterprise of Kirovakan, a city located near the earthquake's epicenter, is the chemical works. In an interview with our correspondent, Vladislav Borisovich Tardov, party committee secretary in the Mineral Fertilizer Production Ministry describes what is being done there to eliminate the aftermath of the disaster:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Vladislav Borisovich, certain foreign reports about the events in Armenia express alarm that in the earthquake zone there are chemical works and there may be tragic consequences connected with this. Your ministry, too, has a relatively big enterprise there.

[Tardov] Yes, in Kirovakan we have a chemical works. It is the town's biggest enterprise with a workforce of some 4,000 persons. It produces ammonia, urea and other chemical products. On the day of the earthquake the works' collective, under the guidance of the works' director and party organization, shut down the main plant for production of chemicals in a technically proficient manner. And as a result of prompt measures at the works there were no fires, no explosions, no leak of gas or chemical toxins. It should be said that at the works there is a store of ammonia which evidently worries the populace. But the bulk of the ammonia at the works has today been removed to fraternal Georgia and we have left more than 120 tonnes of ammonia in place, we have pumped it into an underground depository and now that supplies of food to Armenia for the victims are increasing significantly, a considerable quantity of ammonia is needed for refrigerators.

[Correspondent] Vladislav Borisovich, you too were in Kirovakan in the very first days after the earthquake. What did you see, how much did the works itself suffer and how did the people working there suffer?

[Tardov] As a result of prompt actions during the shift the production personnel did not suffer. The majority of our casualties are from among members of families. Immediately—literally on the same day—to help Armenia, experts in mountain rescue were sent with equipment which they used and still are using to clear the rubble in the city. Now the main task of the ministry collective and all workers in the industry is to provide housing for the Kirovakan population. Each enterprise has been set the task of manufacturing and installing on the spot complete dwelling huts primarily to house the people who suffered. A site has already been selected on the spot and soon prefabricated dwelling huts will start arriving there with two and three rooms each. We already have basically ready three construction and assembly trains; they are complete with equipment and have generators, steel wagons for personnel. Our experts in foreign relations are now discussing the purchase of tents and sleeping bags from fraternal socialist countries and capitalist countries. Hundreds of tents have been purchased and on the next flights we will send them to Armenia and their distribution will be organized.

[Correspondent] So, as soon as the main question of housing has been solved, the works itself can be started up?

[Tardov] Yes, now they have nowhere to live and naturally people are human in any conditions. The workers of the works are worried about their children and families, but we are trying to solve this problem too: 180 people, mainly women, children, grandmothers, grandfathers, have gone to fraternal Georgia. They will be kept in Georgian boarding houses in an area close to our works. The area has been chosen so that at weekends the workers can get on a bus and go and see how their wives, mothers, fathers and children are getting on in the boarding houses in fraternal Georgia. [end recording]

Seismology Center Badly Equipped

PM1312114988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Dec 88 Second Edition p 8

[PRAVDA correspondent A. Androshin report on interview with I. Nersesov, chief of the Institute of Earth Physics Seismology Department and corresponding member of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences: "Natural Disaster: Specialist Comments"—date, place not given]

[Text] "The earthquake that took place 7 December and effectively encompassed the whole of the Caucasus was the most severe ever recorded in this region, and in terms of its tragic consequences is comparable in our country perhaps only with the Ashkhabad disaster of 40 years ago"—that is how the conversation between PRAVDA correspondent A. Androshin and I. Nersesov, chief of the Institute of Earth Physics Seismology Department and corresponding member of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences, began.

"As has already been announced," he continued, "the epicenter of the subterranean shock was in a zone with a high concentration of poopulation. The speed and suddenness of the subsequent devastation was in many respects also determined by the fact that the focus of the earthquake was comparatively near the surface—at a depth of 10-15 km, and its field of movement covered several tens of kilometers."

[Androshin] Hot on the heels of the natural disaster, recriminations can be heard directed at researchers: Are they really incapable of predicting events somehow and warning people? After all, science has come a long way in recent years. The Geophysics and Seismology Engineering Institute is located in Leninakan itself and its specialists are also supposed to resolve this task....

[Nersesov] I do not presume to judge Leninakan's specialists. First, their institute, which has, incidentally, now been destroyed, is extremely new, and in order to successfully forecast such phenomena you have to monitor variations in a whole series of parameters in the earth's crust over a long time. Second, let's face up to the fact that even with more experience our researchers would have hardly been able to do anything promptly. For we have virtually no modern forecasting apparatus and none of the requisite computers.

[Androshin] Everyone is wondering whether more tremors are expected.

[Nersesov] The so-called process of equalizing stress in the earth's crust begins after the main shock. There is a possibility of what we call aftershocks—repeat tremors—including quite powerful tremors, although weaker than the main tremor. Leading Georgian and Armenian seismologists, who have also been joined by a group of specialists from our institute, are at the scene in order to carry out timely monitoring of processes in the focus. We

are fitting out another team of researchers. We are waiting for the arrival of our French colleagues, who are bringing 30 seismic stations. We have to provide prompt answers to a multitude of questions.

Science Expert Gives Details

LD1312223488 Moscow TASS in English 2219 GMT 13 Dec 88

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Yerevan December 14 TASS—The earthquake which hit Armenia past Wednesday was the most destructive one in Armenia's recent history and has disastrous consequences, Academician Nikolay Laverov told a TASS correspondent. The vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, head of the academy's department for terrestrial sciences, arrived in Armenia at the head of the academy's commission for the assessment of the consequences and development of scientific works connected with quakes.

"It can be said with confidence now that the earthquake reached force ten at some sections of the epicentre", Nikolay Laverov said. "The main part of the epicentral zone affected by a severe quake coincided with broad tectonic fissures that can be traced all along the Mediterranean flexible belt. A section of this belt is situated in Armenia while the main part stretches from Portugal in the West to South-East Asia.

The Spitak earthquake named so after the town that was hit the hardest caused a rupture of an unprecedented stretch in Armenia, possible up to 450 kilometres. The epicentre of the earthquake and hypocentres of the ruptures were north of Spitak. As the tremor strengthened, there was rupture of continuity in the area and the process spread to the cities of Leninakan and Kirovakan and also to settlements and villages situated nearby. The localities south of the Leninakan-Kirovakan line at a distance of 20 or more kilometres from it have been virtually unaffected by the quake. Of much importance is the established fact that in the southern zone of Armenia there were no displacements of the earth's crust with local focuses.

As regards the possibility of more tremors, the scientist said that the earthquakes following the main shock are usually waning. There were more than 400 slight tremors with the same focus as the main shock in the first day. The Spitak quake proceeds in the way characteristic of waning earthquakes.

Regional Centers Urged

PM1312123588 Moscow TRUD in Russian 13 Dec 88 p 4

[TRUD special correspondents S. Aslanyan, S. Prokopchuk, and V. Svirin report: "Days And Nights. TRUD Special Correspondents Report From Armenia"]

[Excerpts] Leninakan-Yerevan, 12 Dec—In Leninakan, as in the other disaster areas, days have merged into one another: No one can tell you—and if they can, they have to work it out first—what date it is today and what day of the week... This is understandable: People are continually among the rubble and the smoking ashes. Some are clearing the debris, others are nursing the wounded, who are in a state of shock, and still others don't notice the time as they anticipate that their mother, son, or sister is maybe about to appear from a hole that's been dug or from a dark cramped space that's been uncovered by a slab removed by an automatic crane... There is still hope because first a woman and child and then an old man were brought out on the 4th and 5th days from under the collapsed apartment blocks. [passage omitted]

Alas, this is not often the case and for that reason very few people from the large apartment blocks which made up the boulevard but which were demolished by the earthquake are to be found in the tent settlement that has sprung up on Victory Boulevard square. The 9-story No 1 tower on the Yerevan highway collapsed, was flattened, and buried 70 people, flinging to the surface a pillow, a woman's fur hat, Gyunara Yegizaryan's passport, and an undamaged wreath of bright red Christmas tree baubles. Human life proved more frail...

Yes, the elements showed our defenselessness. But they also showed something else—that we people of all nationalities need one another, are tied to one another, and that our squabbles and grievances with our neighbors are petty and insignificant in the face of a great calamity. Separated by distance, traditions, life styles and different languages and creeds, we begin to see clearly at times of tragedy like the earthquake in Armenia and submit to the feeling invested in us by wise nature that we are all an inalienable and equal part of our Union and part of mankind. We are all interdependent and are all linked together. That is why people roused by compassion, duty, charity, and responsibility have rushed in alarm to Leninakan, Spitak, Kirovakan, and Stepanavan from the farthest ends of the country and from far and wide outside our state. People here do not waste time asking where are you from and what nationality and what tribe are you, but form a chain and pass rocks from the ruins to one another. Buckets of water are passed from hand to hand. They pick up stretchers bearing the injured smoothly in silence, run to the cars marked with the red cross on the side, and deliver bread and crates of mineral water. They unload automobiles delivering provisions, tin stoves, and parcels with footwear and blankets, coats, and jackets from Riga, Kirov...

But even in this situation there are dishonest people who are trying to play on ethnic feelings. For instance, someone asked us in Leninakan and Spitak whether it is correct that the orphans whom families in other republics want to provide with a home will never return to Armenia. What could be more ridiculous? Who needs to spread such conjecture?! On Sunday someone's ill will brought groups of demonstrators onto the streets of Yerevan—in order not to let the evil shoots of ethnic dissension die. Last Monday they spread the rumor that

there had just been a television announcement saying: Expect more earthquakes!.. The city became agitated. Meanwile Armenian Television broadcasts were interrupted during these hours.

"Catch and punish these provocateurs properly and openly," many people told us. "No one is allowed to speculate on a calamity and sow dissension even now..."

The natural confusion of the first few days in Leninakan and the other afflicted cities, when perhaps only troop subunits were able to rescue, assist, treat, feed, organize shelter, and evacuate the people of Leninakan in a situation to which they too were unaccustomed, is passing. You can sense that the actions of the townspeople and the work teams that are increasingly arriving are becoming more and more organized.

Any catastrophe is unpredictable. You don't expect it and you don't prepare for it in advance. However, why not always be prepared for it? Floods, torrential rains, avalanches, and typhoons are inevitable. Seismically dangerous areas are also known. But is it not logical to have an aid system for those struck by natural disasters, a system organized on the principle of civil defense and rescue services? Probably, this could be made up of regional centers with all the requisite experienced people to lead the work, transport, gear, equipment, and a basic supply of food, medicine, and clothing... We need these centers in seismically dangerous areas. During these hard days for Leninakan and Spitak, the shortage of firefighting vehicles and powerful cranes and the lack of instruments for detecting the victims took its toll as did, above all, the shortage of people to organize the emergency work and organize provision of vital services for the population. Mankind is not insured against natural disasters and we should reflect without fail on how to reduce the number of casualties to a minimum in the event of possible repetition of this catastrophe in any other geographical spot. [passage omitted]

Survivors Found on 7th Day

LD1412071988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Excerpt] The rescue work continues night and day in the districts of Armenia which have suffered from the disaster. Here is a telephone report from our special correspondents in Armenia, Yuriy Korotkov and Kuryun Khomaryan.

[Korotkov] The morning for each of us begins with bread. It seems there has always been and will always be bread, but in the first days after the disaster, there was not enough bread in the afflicted districts. I saw how people begged: Bread, bring in bread. Now there is plenty of bread here. As Shakhbazyan, Armenia's minister of grain products, told us, 2 and ½ times as much bread is being delivered to the disaster-stricken areas daily as compared with before the earthquake. It is being transported by aircraft, helicopter, and automobile from Yerevan, Razdan, Oktemberyan, Sevan, and other cities of the republic. I have seen a loaf of bread being brought in to feed the living, but coffins are also being brought in to pay the last respects to the dead. Life and death have interwoven here into a frightful ball.

[Khomaryan] It is hard to believe, but even now, at the end of the 7th day, the rescue and search groups are discovering live people and freeing them from concrete captivity. They are extremely fatigued physically and morally. But the experience of these past 7 days shows that our doctors' kind, warm hands are capable of making them whole both in body and soul. I believe, at least I very much want to believe, that they will return to full-blooded life. We all very much need that, otherwise we will probably not be able to live out the rest of our lives without suffering pangs of conscience. But first of all their kith and kin—who are now with alarm and with hope looking into the long lists of those who have already been saved and delivered to hospitals and sanatoria or to near and dear ones, or who have been sheltered by unknown but already endlessly dear people—need to locate them. These lists are compiled in the search service organized by the Komsomol of Armenia Central Committee.

[Korotkov] Yes, a great deal is being done now by all who came to the aid to those who suffered—doctors, servicemen, mountain rescuers, bulldozer drivers, and (?truck drivers). I believe that the towns and villages will grow up out of the ruins and will become still more beautiful. Only for human memory will one more scar be added. But life continues. [passage omitted]

Mine Workers Rescue Survivors

LD1312205188 Moscow TASS in English 1918 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—According to latest reports, Soviet mine rescuers have pulled another 218 survivors from under the rubble of crumpled buildings in Armenia hit by a powerful earthquake on December 7. Aleksandr Fisun, Soviet deputy coal minster, told TASS by telephone that 619 dead bodies had also been dug out.

Seven mine rescue teams were formed already on the night to December 8. A total of 470 rescuers from all Soviet coal mining regions are now digging through the debris in search of people lying under. "In the next few days we are sending another 230 mine rescuers to Armenia," Fisun said.

The teams consist of ten completely independent groups of six or seven people. Each group has rubble-removing experts, atmospheric control specialists (in case gas mainlines are damaged) and doctors. All the groups are equipped with communications means, oxygen bottles, mine and metal-cutting instruments, hydraulic jacks and other equipment.

"Unfortunately," Fisun went on to say, "we do not have special equipment and sniffer dogs to search for people concealed under the debris. But, here we are helped by rescuers from Britain, France, Poland and other countries."

The USSR Coal Ministry started to set up its own self-sufficiency base in Armenia today. It is building tent camps, organising food supplies and establishing communications. Thirteen special buses with all the necessary equipment for the mine rescuers are already heading for Armenia.

Chazov on Treatment of Injured

LD1412134288 Moscow TASS in English 1334 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—A total of 15,227 people injured in the devastating earthquake in Soviet Armenia received medical aid as of December 14, and 9,153 people were admitted to hospital, the Soviet health minister said at a briefing here today.

Academician Yevgeniy Chazov told newsmen that 3,743 patients had already left hospital.

Not a single occurrence of typhoid fever or dysentery had been registered, Chazov said. "There is no information whatsoever on the worsening of the epidemiological situation in the disaster areas," the minister added.

Minister Chazov on Medical Work

LD1312184388 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Soviet medicine has been put to the test by the disaster in Armenia, said Academician Yevgeniy Chazov, USSR health minister. He addressed today a session of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences which opened here and told the colleagues about medics' work in the quake-stricken areas.

He said 220 medical teams had promptly arrived in Armenia from various Soviet cities. As many as 2.5 thousand major surgical operations—neurosurgeries, vascular and cavity operations, microsurgeries—had been performed by the noon of December 12. The first, very complex operations, including amputations, were performed by medics right in the streets, without even the shelter of tents. Altogether 2.5 thousand injured were taken out of the disaster area in planes and ambulances on the first night.

Yevgeniy Chazov has first-hand knowledge of the events. He flew to Yerevan with the first group of doctors—specialists from Moscow's most famous medical centres—four hours after the report about the quake came in and returned to Moscow yesterday evening with a flight which carried 84 survivors with severe injuries. Medics worked with dedication in most difficult conditions, the academician said. "When we arrived in the quake-stricken area, there was neither electric light nor communications there. Fires were raging. The quake destroyed all hospitals. 70 per cent of the medical personnel was killed", Chazov said. Medics acted promptly. Moscow institutes set up first-aid stations and hospitals in the disaster area. Three tons of anti-septic liniments were brought to the disaster area to prevent wound infection. Nearly 6,000 out of the 13,000 injured had been hospitalised, mainly in Yerevan clinics. New specialised centres, specifically, for neurosurgery and traumatology were already set up or have been set up there. Two hospitals and a polyclinic were opened in Leninakan.

Chazov Lists Needed Supplies

LD1312151288 Hamburg DPA in German 1442 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Medical supplies and equipment are still needed in the Armenian earthquake area. "We need above all equipment and drugs to diagnose hepatitis, typhus, and intestinal disorders, but instruments to determine the quality of drinking water are also urgently required," Soviet Health Minister Yevgeniy Chazov said on Tuesday during a conversation in Moscow with Frau Heike Wilma-Kegel (Greens), chairperson of the Bundestag Health Committee. As yet there is no danger of acute epidemics, but they could appear soon, the minister said.

The Bundestag deputy will remain in the USSR until Thursday at the invitation of the USSR Health Ministry, where she will discuss drug and alcohol problems in the Soviet Union with ministry representatives and scientists. "However, the talk with Mr Chazov was on a single topic: the earthquake disaster in Armenia," Frau Wilms-Kegel told DPA in Moscow. Chazov had said that portable X-ray equipment, dialysis equipment and equipment for the detoxification of blood are urgently needed in order to provide medical care for the earthquake victims. In the next 4 weeks at least two hospitals with 1,000 beds each will have to be built in devastated northern Armenia.

*Military Medical Relief Work

WA1801028188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Dec 88 First Edition pp 1, 4

[Article by correspondent Maj Yu. Mamchur, Leninakan-Yerevan: "Fight for Life"]

[Text] "The ground shook in such a way that it was hard to stay on one's feet," was how Lieutenant Colonel of Medical Service (Reserve) V. Skorlukhanov, a doctor at the military hospital, described it. "The walls trembled, and we doctors rushed to the wards: Everyone out into the street!"

Lieutenant Colonel of Medical Service A. Nigmatulin, the hospital chief, ran out to the stunned people—he did not leave the building until plaster began raining on his head.

"Are all the patients here?"

No one could say for sure.

"Follow me!" Andrey Mikhaylovich exclaimed, and rushed back inside.

Alas, not all could be rescued: A staircase had fallen.

The doctors opened fully the wide doors of the hospital. They did not have to wait long. Within just minutes the medical personnel were surrounded by hundreds of blood-stained people—wounded, contused and stunned people from the houses and neighboring streets. Some made it there on their own, some were led, and others were carried.... But they all knew that this was a military hospital. This was the place to get help.

The hallways of the building occupied by the medical company commanded by Captain of Medical Service V. Marchenko were packed with people, such that it was no longer possible to get through. Marchenko and his subordinates worked themselves to the limit. Working together with personnel who arrived from the hospital, they provided medical assistance to more than 400 casualties by 9 o'clock in the evening. Over 80 operations were carried out.

The work done here by military medical personnel in the most dramatic hours right after the earthquake is beyond reward. Let me name at least a few of them:

Lieutenant colonels of medical service Dzhamshid Yusibov and Andrey Nigmatulin, captains of medical service Vladimir Marchenko, Valeriy Moskalenko and Vladimir Malyutin, Senior Lieutenant of Medical Service Ivan Kachur, Lieutenant Colonel of Medical Service (Reserve) Viktor Skorlukhanov, Soviet Army employees, physicians Viktor Sychennikov and Lyudmila Privalova, surgical nurses Liliya Bezzubenko, Nelli Mikhaylichenko, Agunik Gevorkiyan, Vartush Stepanyan, Larisa Kuznetsova....

No, I cannot name them all. My apologies, but more will be said about them later.

They were unable to find senior nurse Larisa Anatolyevna Tishchenko's child among the ruins. And surgical nurse Svetlana Vyacheslavovna Vlasova's child perished. These women saved the lives of other children and other mothers day after day, around the clock.

At 1700 hours on 7 December a group of medical specialists from the district military hospital arrived at Leninakan Airport under the command of Lieutenant Colonel of Medical Service V. Khan, chief of the therapeutic ward of the Transcaucasian Military District's medical service. All of the roads were congested by transportation, and it was impossible to get the doctors out of the airport. Valeriy Mikhaylovich got to the medical company on his own. How he did it, God and he only know. He had to get his bearings and estimate the situation. He knew that at best, it would take at least 2 or 3 hours to get his group of district hospital doctors here. In the meantime he assumed command. Preparation of additional dressing points and of work stations for the medical specialists was started.

Meanwhile Colonel of Medical Service V. Shachkin took charge of the medical personnel awaiting transportation at the airport. He decided that aid could be provided right inside the airplanes, to include stopping bleeding and injecting painkillers. He separated his group into teams of two or three persons. They began their work.

Confusion reigned at the airport in these hours. No one could say for sure what kind of patients to put where. Vladimir Mikhaylovich went to airport officials and demanded that a control point be set up to load the airplanes (so it was that his experience in Afghanistan came into use!). This was necessary because some of the airplanes were taking off with no more than a dozen casualties! The airport allocated officials, and Shachkin, taking his cues from the situation, took charge as something close to a military medical commandant. After a little while things were organized.

A vehicle finally arrived for them. Thankfully, civilian medical personnel appeared on the scene as well, and Vladimir Mikhaylovich transferred his authority to them.

At half past ten in the evening the district hospital doctors reached the company's location. The most active and qualified work began here from this moment on. Specialists soon arrived from other military hospitals and medical battalions of the Transcaucasian Military District as well. Four of the six surgical teams were working at any one time. Complex abdominal operations, limb amputations, resuscitation. The pace increased with every hour, even though there were cracks all over the building, cabinets were falling off the walls, and plaster was strewn everywhere. The triage process was put right, in many ways owing to the high degree of professional work by Lieutenant Colonel of Medical Service I. Makhlin.

It was learned from the seismologists that one more aftershock was possible at three or four in the morning. A decision was made to move the operation into tents.

Between noon on 7 December and six in the morning of the 8th, the medical company provided assistance to 1,200 persons. Around 600 were evacuated by way of the airport.

Between 0600 hours on the 8th and 0800 hours on the 9th 500 were admitted, and 84 were evacuated.

On the third day the figures were 182 and 51 respectively.

In all of that time 55 servicemen and 160 family members were admitted.

In 3 days the surgeons performed many dozens of operations, including highly complex ones. In the estimation of Colonel of Medical Service L. Nyanin all specialists and nurses worked with the greatest efficiency and coordination. Many did not get even a minute's sleep for 2 or 3 days.

Lev Alekseyevich had arrived from Kirovakan and Spitak just an hour prior to our conversation. Military medical personnel assumed the brunt of the work there as well. In Kirovakan it was Major N. Rasskazov's medical company jointly with doctors of City Hospital No 1. In Spitak it was a group of surgeons of the Military Medical Academy imeni S. M. Kirov under the supervision of Colonel of Medical Service V. Satsyukevich, the senior instructor of the Department of Surgery and Physician Advanced Training.

During our discussion Lev Alekseyevich was informed that an expectant mother had arrived, and she was in labor.

"All right, then, prepare for delivery!" Colonel Nyanin cracked his first smile. Then he explained: "For a while, at first, we were the main obstetric-gynecological force. The local maternity hospital had been destroyed. Three hundred women in labor and doctors were killed."

Two-year-old Karen Mirtchyan became the hero and pride of the medical company within a few hours: For 2 days he lay beneath the rubble, and he emerged without a scratch. You will live a long life, young boy!

Aspin Gasparyak and his 4-year-old Manana were delivered to the company separately—they were dug out at different times, 3 days after the earthquake.

I spoke with Colonel of Medical Service L. Nyanin about the things that kept the medical personnel from working even more effectively, though it was hard to think how things could have been any better!

The fact that centralized leadership of the entire course of the work was not organized right away did of course have its effect. As far as the medical personnel are concerned, they had to deal with the medicine problem.

"Consider for example that right now," Lev Alekseyevich said, "we are dealing predominantly with the compression syndrome, where besides large quantities of fluids, we need all kinds of specific drugs that help to eliminate toxins from the body. We don't have the equipment used to prevent renal insufficiency: Industry is not manufacturing it, though we know quite well that such equipment is available abroad."

As I left the medical company I asked how things were going with the expectant mother. I learned that 20-year-old Anya Anusyan had been transferred to the city specialists after all—the maternity service was back in operation.

"And what is the condition of the future mother?"

"It's good," replied Lieutenant of Medical Service Yu. Gredinar. "You can hear the child's heart beating gloriously. It will live!"

A nurse standing nearby, exhausted to tears, confirmed:

"Of course it will!"

Good luck to you, little child!

Telegram to the Newspaper—'Help Us Find Her Relatives,' from Lt Col Sevastyanov

Five-year-old Yevgeniya Fedotova was left an orphan by the earthquake. We learned from her that her mother's name was Lyudmila, and her father, who died previously, was named Vladimir. Grandfather Vanya and Grandmother Katya are living somewhere. Help us find her relatives. The young girl is in the nursery of a troop unit stationed in the ruined city of Leninakan.

Militia Keeps Order

LD1312192988 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—About seven thousand militia personnel and Interior-Ministry soldiers are now in the earthquake-hit areas of Armenia. Militia personnel have rescued about one thousand people.

"Our principal task there is to maintain public order," Igor Astapkin, deputy head of the ministry's chief political administration, told a TASS correspondent. "Unfortunately, even in that tragic situation, there have been instances of property and car thefts and marauding. So far we manage to trace down all crimes. We have to enhance the guarding of the places where relief supplies are kept".

Fire-fighters have quite a busy time, too: There were 90 instances of blazes in Leninakan. Expert estimate is there are about 20 permanent sources of fire there—apparently some damaged service lines. However, Anatoliy Mikeyev, head of the ministry's main fire fighting department, said the situation was fully under control.

Highway militia personnel are having a busy time: Previously the supplies were brought to Armenia by the mountain passes in Georgia—Rokskiy and Krestoviy.

They are now closed to traffic owing to heavy snowfall and avalanche danger. So, vehicles arrive in Armenia along a much longer route: Through Azerbaijan and along the Black Sea coast for Leninakan and Spitak where a huge amount of supplies is being delivered.

The Interior Ministry personnel have got yet another mission: Finger printing, criminalistic, and criminal investigation services have been set up in Leninakan, Spitak and other places. They help identify unclaimed dead bodies, and report the places of burial to the next-of-kin.

Komsomol Groups Take Part

PM1312112288 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 88 p 1

[M. Degtyar, I. Shestopalov reports: "At the Komsomol Central Committee"]

[Text]

[M. Degtyar report] Moscow

All the country's young people are helping the people of Armenia today. Tajikistan has sent 5 tonnes of potatoes, tomatoes, and other food products, and 20 prefabricated houses and 40 tents are ready for dispatch. The Uzbekistan Komsomol Central Committee has appropriated R20,000 for blankets, children's clothes, and bedding. The Lithuanian republican detachment that left for Armenia includes 30 Komsomol members, and R30,000 has been paid into Account No 700412...

"All the country's Komsomol organizations are taking part in giving aid to the victims and eliminating the consequences of the earthquake," N. Paltsev, secretary of the All-Union Lenin Komsomol Central Committee, says. "It is only necessary to try to plan our efforts over the long term. A great deal of work lies ahead. Some 500,000 people are left without a roof. There is a particular need for heated tents, warm clothing, working gloves, respirators, and lighting equipment. Unfortunately it is impossible to send everything. Therefore we are asking Komsomol committees to find some way of temporarily storing what they collect. It is desirable to sort all the things coming in according to types and purpose, and to mark the loads that are dispatched.

[I. Shestopalov report] Yerevan

Tens of thousands of young workers, employees, and students form Yerevan have now gone to work in the regions of the republic affected by the earthquake. With them in the work of restoration are nearly 3,000 volunteers from all the union republics. V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the All-Union Lenin Komsomol Central Committee, has visited Leninakan and Spitak. He talked with inhabitants and met with young volunteers.

The conclusion from these conversations: Only those detachments that can take their own equipment and stocks of food and have warm tents should be sent to Armenia. Their departure must be coordinated with Komsomol Central Committee headquarters.

The telephone number of the All-Union Lenin Komsomol Central Committee operations group in Armenia is 52-68-40.

Electric Power System Under Repair

LD1312180888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1300 GMT 13 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Razdan GRES, which was affected during the earthquake, is now bearing a load of 680,000 kw. All turbogenerators and two generating sets have been switched on at this large thermal power station.

Supplies of gas and water have been restored to Kirovakan TETS.

Work is going on around-the-clock to restore electricity transmission lines for supplying energy to Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak, Dzhadzhur, Kaltakhchi, and other cities of Armenia.

From all corners of the country power engineering construction workers and assembly workers are arriving in the republic.

Azerbaijan Continues To Offer Assistance

Joint Action Plan Drawn Up

LD1412091988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] Work to establish contacts between neighboring rayons in Azerbaijan and Armenia is continuing. Our special correspondents, Islam Kuliyev and Sergey Omelchenko, report.

[Kuliyev] Kedabekskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan: Here, in snowy heights of lesser Caucasus, a situation typical for the areas neighboring Armenia has formed. Everywhere there are numerous people who have left their permanent places of residence. They have settled along the road, alongside the villages where previously people of Armenian nationality lived. However, the party, soviet, and law-enforcement bodies are doing everything possible to put a stop to unfounded rumors. They are striving to help people in trouble. To this end, a headquarters has been set up in the rayon to provide assistance to the population that has left its place of permanent residence. It is working round the clock. People are having empty houses placed at their disposal for temporary occupation and local residents are taking in families with many children.

[Omelchenko] Naturally, not everyone can be accommodated in the border areas, there is neither enough housing nor enough work. So, once the necessary immediate help has been given, they are allocated transporation and a certain sum of money, food, and clothing, and are sent on to other areas in the republic.

[Kuliyev] First of all, however, they have a talk with these people. They try to persuade them to return to their permanent places of residence. To this end, contacts are already being set up with party, soviet, and law-enforcement bodies in Krasnoselskiy and Vardenisskiy rayons in Armenia. For example, the first such meeting has been held between representatives of Shamkhorskiy and Kedabeksiy Rayons of Azerbaijan and representatives of Krasnoselskiy rayon in Armenia. A joint action plan to return the situation to normal and to put an end to various kinds of unfounded rumors was drawn up at the meeting. To this end, they set up an exchange of up-to-date information of mutual interest. They react immediately to statements by residents of the three rayons, and every report of a house being seized or of personal property or cattle being stolen is checked immediately. Criminal cases already have been started in connection with instances of looting.

Azerbaijan Settles Migrants

NC1412072788 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0447 GMT 14 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] One of our great concerns these days is settling the thousands who have been forced to leave their homes in Armenia and come to Azerbaijan. Now all the migrants are surrounded by warmth and are being helped with setting up new homes and obtaining warm clothing and food. Children have already started lessons and have gone to kindergartens and creches.

In the Babayev Sovkhoz of the Vyshitinskiy Rayon, for example, 112 families have found shelter. This is more than half of those who arrived in this rayon from Armenia. Social workers of the (?Gayi) society and the Yardim Fund have organized the collection of money, while the local poulation has taken the migrants into their homes.

Funds for Young Refugees

LD1312141288 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Baku: The Labor Collective Council, together with the management of the Azerbaijan Civil Aviation Board, has decided to allocate R120,000 from the Social Development Fund to organize the free air transportation of refugees from Armenia—1,800 children—to health centers in (?the Crimea).

Looting, Curfews in Both Republics

LD1412132088 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] It's a sad fact that, as any other disaster, this one has revealed cases of massive heroism as well as those of indifference and base actions. There are some riffraff who use the tragedy to loot the vacated apartments and the stores left without doors and glass in the windows. There are some thugs who spread cynical, unfounded rumors and incite ethnic strife during this grim period. In view of all this, a curfew has been imposed in some parts of Armenia and neighboring Azerbaijan where there is mixed populations. It's essential to rule out any unpredictable events in this situation in relationship between people. The reasons for the emergency situation in Spitak and Leninakan are different: to ensure smooth supply of essentials and smooth rescue work, as well as to have maximum working ability of the population. [passage omitted]

International Aid, Condolences Continue

TASS Reports Aid

LD1312001488 Moscow TASS in English 2348 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—TASS correspondents report on international aid to earthquake victims in Soviet Armenia and condolences sent to Soviet leadership.

In Bulgaria, a special government commission has been set up to coordinate the relief effort. Contributions from Bulgarian work collectives and individuals continue to pour in on a special bank account. Two Bulgarian planes with 16 tons of medicines and bandage materials, and 20 tons of food supplies flew to Armenia on December 10. The planes also brought 16 rescuers with specially trained search dogs.

A third Bulgarian plane with bandage materials has been sent to Armenia.

Canadian Foreign Minister Joseph Clark has announced his government's decision to grant additional financial aid worth five million Canadian dollars to quake victims.

Nineteen Canadian rescuers with six search dogs have flown to the Soviet Union to take part in rescue operations in the stricken area.

Italy has sent its fifth military transport aircraft with warm clothes, communications systems, medical preparations, equipment and other relief supplies to Yerevan. About 60 Italian technicians and rescuers are already working in the disaster areas.

A decision has been made to build a settlement in one of the destroyed regions to coordinate Italian aid to the stricken Armenian population.

The economic committee of the Polish Council of Ministers has passed a resolution on aid to earthquake victims. A quarter of a billion zlotys will be allocated from the Polish state budget in an effort to help Soviet Armenia. The relief will include tents, blankets, medicines, working clothes and other essentials, the resolution says.

In response to a call from the primate (Prymasa) of the Polish Catholic Church, all Polish parishes will accept donations and other material aid for Armenia.

A bank account for donations to quake-stricken Armenians has been opened in Finland.

Condolences on the natural disaster have been received from Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, Finland's Acting President and Prime Minister Harri Holkeri, and Austrian Federal President Kurt Waldheim.

International Air Relief

LD1212213188 Moscow TASS in English 1944 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 12 TASS—The flow of international relief aid for earthquake victims in Armenia is increasing, with 50 planes from 30 countries having landed at Yerevan's Zvartnots Airport just in the past three days.

Students from local colleges, including young men from Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and other countries, are helping airport personnel to unload cargoes.

An aircraft from the Italian city of Pisa has just touched down with a group of rescue workers. It is the third airliner sent by the Italian Society for Citizen Protection with foodstuffs as well as medical and other equipment.

Goods Arrive by Air, Road

LD1312171688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 13 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Hundreds of additional aircraft flights have recently brought over 10,000 doctors, rescue workers, builders, electricians, and other experts into Armenia. The intensity of air traffic to Leninakan and Yerevan has increased several times, thus causing a complex navigation situation. For this reason some aircraft are now landing in Baku, Tbilisi, Sochi, and Sukhumi, from where goods are transported by road.

This news refutes the rumors appearing abroad that goods are not always reaching the earthquake victims. The specific features of the rescue work requires huge efforts from the helicopter operators. They carried out over 300 flights into Leninakan airport over 8-11 December alone.

SFRY Plane Brings Relief Workers

LD1312001888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2202 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, December 12 (TANJUG)—A special Aviogenex plane with 125 engineers, technicians and rescue experts on board landed at Yerevan airport this evening.

The Yugoslav Air Company's plane left Skoplje carrying medicine and first aid sent by the Macedonian Red Cross to the Armenian population.

Obrad Koprivica, Yugoslavia's consul in Moscow, said the Yugoslav experts were in Yerevan and will leave for the disaster area tomorrow. Koprivica also left for Yerevan tonight.

The Aviogenex plane left Yerevan for Yugoslavia this evening.

British Efforts Detailed

LD1212230488 Moscow TASS in English 2228 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] London December 13 TASS—Over 600,000 pounds sterling were donated by ordinary British people as relief aid to Armenia by Monday. Warm clothing, blankets, warm tents, children's clothing are being brought to special points set up in various areas of the country.

British hospitals and medical centres have already allocated some 30 artificial kidney apparatuses to be urgently brought by air into the disaster area.

A group of eight medics—specialists in traumatology, intensive care and surgeons has already been formed and is to make a flight to Armenia. The BBC information service noted in this connection that the setting up of such a group is a unique phenomenon which has never been used in British aid to other countries.

Altogether some 70 British rescuers equipped with infrared instruments for detecting people trapped by debris are to fly to Armenia.

British firms, many of which are the USSR's traditional trading partners, responded to requests for aid. They offered to send to Armenia some 500 mobile units for blood transfusion, 70 intensive care systems, including ten such systems expressly for children, more than 80,000 units of medicines, medical instruments and equipment for urgent medical aid.

More UK Aid Arrives

LD1312183988 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—A second group of British rescue workers arrived in Armenia today to help in the rescue effort. The 15-man team, all members of the International Rescue Corps, helped pull people from the debris in the earthquakes in Colombia and Mexico.

The British team has brought special equipment which helps locate people buried under rubble by detecting the heat of human bodies. The rescue workers are accompanied by seven firemen and eight doctors, Nick Griffiths of the British Embassy in the USSR said over the telephone.

Among those who came to help out is professional rescuer Steven Morris. Morris said the team members were volunteers who helped in the rescue effort in Colombia and Mexico. But the scale of disaster in Armenia was much greater, he told a TASS correspondent. Steven Morris thanked for the friendly reception given by the Soviet people despite the devastation. People should learn to live in a single human family if they want to survive, Morris said.

Britain has sent five aircraft with aid and the last one of them is expected to arrive today. The emergency supplies included blankets, medical equipment and medicine, as well as hoisting equipment. Forty-five rescue workers from Britain are currently helping in the rescue and search effort.

Austria Announces Relief Efforts

LD1312161188 Moscow TASS in English 1558 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Vienna December 13 TASS—An official report was published here on a meeting of the Austrian Council of Ministers, which heard a report by Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky on rendering assistance to quake victims in the Armenian Republic. The Austrian Federal Government took a decision to grant 5.8 million schillings as aid. The money will be used to deliver to the USSR blood plasma, medicines and a rescue group with appropriate equipment.

Besides, the Government intends to take other measures to offer additional efficient aid to quake victims. The meeting also heard a report by National Defence Minister Robert Lichal on dispatching a special team of the Austrian Army with appropriate equipment to the stricken area. At present the team is engaged in rescue operations in Leninkan.

Turkish Equipment Offer Refused

TA1412125388 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1100 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] The Soviet Union has termed Turkey's offer to send helicopters and cranes to the area of the earthquake a noble gesture, but added that there is no need for this kind of aid now due to the heavy air traffic in the region.

During his weekly news conference, Foreign Ministry spokesman Ambassador Inal Batu said that six TIR [International Highway Transport] trucks with relief material have already reached Batumi and that the information about the helicopters and cranes was received only this morning. He added that the Soviet Union has communicated that it appreciates this proposal very much and that a request for this material will be made as soon as the need arises. He said that a message by the Soviet chief of staff's office to this effect was received at the chief of staff's office in Ankara.

Pointing out that the Soviet Union has asked for additional relief material and medicines, Batu said that efforts are now being made to meet this request.

PRC Expresses Profound Sympathy

LD1312155588 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Beijing December 13 TASS—The Government and the people of China express deep condolences to the Soviet Union on the natural disaster in Soviet Armenia, which led to a huge loss of life.

Premier of China's State Council Li Peng has sent a telegram to Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, in which he conveyed deep condolences to the Soviet Government, the people and families of the dead on the casualties caused by the earthquake.

"Having received the news about the powerful earthquake in Soviet Armenia which inflicted huge material damage and claimed many lives, we wish to express our profound sympathy to the government and people of the Soviet Union. We convey our genuine condolences to the families and relatives of the dead," the telegram says.

China's news agency XINHUA reported that the Chinese Red Cross society had sent a telegram of condolences to the Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent societies. The Chinese Red Cross has decided to help the stricken Armenian population. Relief supplies are already being dispatched to Armenia.

Several other Chinese public organisations have also sent their condolences to corresponding organizations in the Soviet Union.

Ukrainian Officials' Condolences

AU1412102288 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 9 Dec 88 p 1

["To the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Dear Comrades,

We felt in our hearts a sharp pain at the news about the casualties and destruction suffered by the Armenian SSR as a result of the unprecedentedly strong earthquake.

The people of the Ukraine express their deep sympathy with the families who have lost relatives and close friends, and with all who have suffered in the disaster.

Following the laws of brotherhood, our republic's working people will in this time of trial do their utmost to help you endure the great plight and return quickly to normal life.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers

The city of Kiev, 8 December 1988

Commandant Notes 'Peace Prevails' in Baku

NC1412160888 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District, issued 13 December]

[Text] Peace prevails in the city. Measures are being taken to (?fulfill the obligations) arising from stoppages in production and disruptions in work. The process of education in universities, vocational and technical education schools, and secondary schools has been organized. However, Armenian students are not attending classes in a number of the city's schools. Various (?unfounded) rumors are being circulated witha view to disrupting peace in the city. In view of this, a stronger effort is being made to consolidate organization, discipline, and public law and order.

I have received unjustifed complaints against the directors of establishments who maintain a principled position against those who disrupt public law and order. For example, Rizayev, a former porter at wine factory No 2, and Muradov, a former worker at the electro-technical equipment factory, claimed that they were illegally discharged from work and urged me to help them. As a result of the inquiry that was carried out, it was determined that Rizayev was discharged becaused he engaged in provocations and refused to work, while Muradov was discharged because he participated in the illegal meetings in Lenin Square from 21 November to 5 December.

A total of 159 people were detained and 29 cars were impounded for violating the curfew and [word indistinct] regime. Four individuals were brought to account in accordance with the 23 November 1988 decision the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Fourteen firearms were seized.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Azerbaijanis Dismissed for Parochialism

LD1312141488 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has discussed the issue of the article entitled "Under the Pressure of Nepotism" published in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA on 23 October 1988.

It was pointed out that distortions allowed in the cadres policy of the past leadership of the republic were [word indistinct] highlighted in the article. For example, Isa Mamedov and Ismail Askerov have, over many years, been appointing cadres according to parochial and protectionist standards.

The party control commission under the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee was instructed to examine the work of Babaali Agayev, former first secretary of Lerik Raykom. It was considered that Isa Mamedov, former secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, be relieved of his duty as director of the Baku Pedagogical Institute by the republican ministry of education.

Ismail Askerov, former head of the organizational department of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, was relieved of his duty as leader of [word indistinct] group of the Baku branch of Vladimir Ilich Lenin Central Museum.

Maksim Musayev, former inspector of the organizational department of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, first secretary of the Kakh raykom, was barred from reelection at the rayon party conference. The Baku gorkom was instructed to examine the party responsibility of Ismail Askerov and Isa Mamedov.

Shcherbina Addresses Azerbaijan Party Bureau

NC0912151188 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 9 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has discussed the question of urgent measures required to resolve the problems of citizens who have been forced to leave their permanent residences. The detailed information published in the press

said that Comrade Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and head of the government commission, addressed the meeting.

It was noted that the influx into Azerbaijan of Azerbaijanis forced to leave their permanent residences in the Armenian SSR, as a result of the worsening situation there, has increased significantly. The number of refugees (?who have moved into Azerbaijan) has risen to 119,094. They have been resettled in 45 cities and rayons.

A total of 89,641 Armenians have left Azerbaijan since the incidents began in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The republic's party and soviet organs are taking measures to resettle the arriving refugees, find them employment, and provide them with the required services.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has assigned the oblast, city, and rayon gorkoms, the Nakhichevan ASSR Council of Ministers, the NKAO gorispolkom, and the other gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms the task of implementing all the required measures for maintaining the safety of the people, addressing themselves promptly to the problems of the refugees, and contributing toward and helping the measures taken by the (?government) commission.

People's Control Meeting Held in Azerbaijan
NC1412071788 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0447 GMT 14 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The papers report that a meeting of staff workers from the Committee of People's Control in the Azerbaijan SSR has been held. Comrade Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, who spoke at the meeting, dealt with issues related to the further restructuring of the activities of people's control organs in conditions of a legal state. He emphasized that control work should serve the improvement of the state of affairs in all spheres of life.

Comrade Polyanichko informed the gathering about the measures being adopted by party, soviet, and economic organs for stabilizing the situation in Baku and other populated localities around the republic.

Comrade Mamedov, chairman of the republican committee of people's control, also spoke at the meeting.

Comrade Vasiliyev, deputy head of the organizational branch of the USSR Committee of People's Control, took part in the meeting.

Baku Factories Call for Return of Armenians
PM1412151388 Moscow TRUD in Russian 14 Dec 88 p 4

[Own correspondent T. Kasumova dispatch: "Returning Home"]

[Text] Baku—According to the clock the shift was coming to an end, but work in the shop continued unabated.

The shift changeover has been postponed, T. Tagiyev, chairman of the trade union committee at the Lieutenant Shmidt machine-building plant, explained. We are trying to catch up; it is necessary to do 1.5-2 times the normal.

The plant's arrears are considerable. During recent events this leading oil extraction equipment plant has failed to deliver almost R6 million worth of equipment. The situation is aggravated by the fact that at the plant, where even in normal circumstances every hand counts, some of the workers are missing. Why?

The atmosphere in the city was so tense that we all felt uneasy, A. Sarkisyan, a rigging team leader, told me. People who do not like a normal, tranquil life, people intent on sowing discord whipped up tensions to the breaking point. Some of us kept getting telephone calls. Thugs came to the plant and threatened us: Leave, or you will be sorry. I know that the same thing was happening in Armenia. After all, migrants from there were arriving here.... All this, compounded by rumors and all sorts of absurd stories, gave rise to fears and uncertainty among many people, both here and there. I almost succumbed to panic myself, although I have lived in Baku all my life and have worked at the plant since 1952. Of the 620 Armenians working at the Lieutenant Shmidt plant, 266 handed in their resignations and wanted to leave. Commissions were set up in the shops to investigate the causes of these resignations and try to dissuade people. As a result only 83 people left, the others are all at their places.... The measures adopted to restore order have led to a normalization of the situation. In recent days the number of people leaving Baku has not only considerably decreased, but some are even returning.

We are now trying to establish contact with those who have left the city, A. Musayev, the plant's director said. This is not exactly easy, especially during the current hard times for the fraternal republic, because far from all the addresses of the people who have left for Armenia are known. Expressing profound sorrow and sympathy to the entire Armenian people, I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to appeal to all my compatriots to return home, to return to our plant.

The sight of people returning home is the first graphic indication that the situation has improved. Of 29 people who resigned at the worsted combine 14 are back at work, and 10 of 33 at the "Bakpromstroytrans." Of 90 teachers in Baku's Narimanovskiy Rayon 20 are back;

and 54 Armenian families have returned to the Ismaillinskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan, and 62 families to Shemakha. This is not much, of course. But it is a beginning, and it inspires hope.

V. Kasumov, first secretary of the Baku Narimanovskiy party raykom assured me that utmost attention is being paid to the returnees and everything is being done to ensure a normal life for them.

We declared from the outset of the exacerbation of the situation in the city, F. Musayev, first secretary of the Baku party Gorkom, said, that any instance of discrimination on ethnic grounds and any manifestation of nationalism would be most severely punished. All complaints and statements received in this context are being investigated. Some of the reported cases are, unfortunately, proving correct. Thus, for instance, Armenian nationals at the republic Academy of Sciences Mathematics and Mechanics Institute construction and design bureau were unlawfully fired. They have all been reinstated with immediate effect, and director F. Iskandr-Zade, whose actions were denounced at the party raykom bureau, received a severe party reprimand. At the same time, people who are trying to put pressure on leaders, force them to commit unlawful actions, and threaten people are being detained and brought to book.

Now, especially against the backdrop of the tragedy in Armenia, the main thing is to help tens of thousands of people in both republics to return to their homes.

Armenian Raykom First Secretary Reassigned

PM1412094188 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 1 Dec 88 p 2

[ARMENPRESS report: "Kalininskiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom Plenum"]

[Text] The Kalininskiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom has held a plenum to discuss an organizational question.

The plenum released V.S. Israelyan from his duties as party raykom first secretary in connection with his transfer to other work.

By a secret ballot the plenum elected Kh.O. Dumikyan, formerly director of the Metsavanskiy Sovkhoz in Kalininskiy Rayon, first secretary of Kalininskiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom.

T.A. Dilanyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the plenum and delivered a speech.

Shcherbitskiy Addresses Ukrainian Party Plenum

LD1212204488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1719 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Kiev, 12 Dec (TASS)—A guarantee and affirmation of the solving of urgent problems lies in strengthening the multinational state and the unity and friendship of the peoples of the country, it was noted at a plenum of the Ukrainian Commmunist Party Central Committee today.

Our unity, participants in the plenum said, has been demonstrated with particular force and is being demonstrated at major turning points in history, under extreme conditions. The support and assistance provided both from the center and by all the union republics to the population of the Armenian SSR, who have experienced the tragic aftermath of the earthquake, is convincing evidence of that. True to the laws of brotherhood of the Soviet peoples, the working people of the Ukraine are making every effort to do all they can to help the stricken, to restore normal living conditions more quickly.

Speaking at the plenum was Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum examined organizational matters. Aleksey Titarenko was released from his duties as second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his retirement on pension. The plenum elected Vladimir Ivashko as second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. He was previously first secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk Obkom.

Ukraine Ministers on Food, Water Supply

AU0712191288 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 3 Dec 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Excerpts]

Improving Food Supplies to the Population

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers examined a Cherkassy Oblispolkom report on the organizational work carried out by the oblast's administrative and agricultural organs to implement the Food Program and to improve food supplies to the population in line with the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Substantial shortcomings were noted in this important sphere. The oblast still has not ensured that all branches of the agro-industrial complex are undergoing intensive development and that the natural and economic potential is being utilized effectively. It is falling short of the

targets set under the Food Program for six out of the nine main kinds of agricultural produce, and is losing the positions previously gained in agricultural production branches, particularly in the communal sector. Purchases of meat are declining. The pig and sheep stock is not being used effectively. The number of cattle has dropped without any justification. [passage omitted]

The oblast leaders were sharply criticized for the lack of attention to the development of individual subsidiary holdings, and to collective fruit and vegetable growing. Nearly 40 percent of farmsteads do not keep any animals, and only 5 percent of enterprises and organizations possess subsidiary farms in which annual production amounts only to 7.4 kilograms per worker. [passage omitted]

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has obligated Cherkassy Oblispolkom (with Comrade V.N. Shapoval at the head) and the agro-industrial committee (with Comrade N.I. Kasyanenko at the head) to eliminate the existing shortcomings, to tighten up control over the implementation of party and government decisions aimed at improving food supplies to the population, and to take steps to increase the number of cattle, in particular the number of cows. [passage omitted]

To Use Water in a Thrifty Manner and Stop the Discharge of Sewage

A session of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium examined the work carried out by the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services to ensure that drinking water is used in a thrifty manner and that towns and urban-type settlements stop discharging sewage without prior purification.

It was noted that the measures taken by the ministry to this effect still do not correspond to the complexity and gravity of the problem. [passage omitted]

Particular attention was called to efforts to stop the discharge of sewage. [passage omitted]

Further Reportage on Latvian Popular Forum

Speakers at Forum Listed

PM1212160388 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 8 Dec 88 p 1

[LATINFORM report: "In Preparation for the Latvian Popular Forum"]

[Text] At its latest session, the organizational committee for the holding of the Latvian SSR Popular Forum discussed the topics of the keynote reports to be delivered at the forum by I.K. Apine, corresponding member of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences and professor at the P. Stuchka Latvian State University; Doctor of Historical Sciences L.M. Dobizheva, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences N. Miklukho-Maklay Ethnography Institute; A.Ya. Blinkena, corresponding member of the republic Academy of Sciences and deputy director of the A. Upita Language and Literature Institute; A.Ya. Kletskin, senior lecturer at the P. Stuchka Latvian State University; Academician Ya.P. Stradyn of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, laboratory chief at the Organic Synthesis Institute; Yu.I. Abyzov, member of the Latvian SSR Writers Union; V.M. Avotinysh, responsible secretary of the journal DAUGAVA; V.G. Bresis, chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers; Minister of Public Education A.A. Buylis; Academician R.A. Kukayn of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, director of the A. Kirkhenshteyn Microbiology Institute; Doctor of Technical Sciences R.I. Vinogradov, professor at Riga's Lenin Komsomol Red Banner Institute for Civil Aviation Engineers; Ya.Ya. Shkapars, consultant to the republic Writers Union; and V.Ya. Skudra, Latvian SSR minister of justice.

The keynote speakers intend to raise in their speeches the problems of interethnic relations in the conditions of the present-day sociopolitical situation, the development of the cultural and historical traditions of Latvia's peoples, and the prospects for the republic's socioeconomic development. Much attention will be given to questions of school education and environmental protection, as well as to the legal status of all peoples in Soviet Latvia.

The Latvian SSR Popular Forum will begin its work at 1000 hours on 10 December 1988 in the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Political Enlightenment House, whose address is: Riga, No 5 Gorkiy Street.

The registration of delegates and invited guests will begin at 0845 hours on 10 December 1988.

Participants in Forum Comment

PM1212124788 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 10 Dec 88 p 2

[Correspondent Ye. Proskura report: "Road of Fraternity"]

[Text] Riga—The Latvian SSR Popular Forum began work today.

"Latvia is our common home!"—that was the slogan chosen by the participants in the meeting and the envoys of all the nations and ethnic groups living in the republic.

The aim of the forum is the improvement of the complex of interethnic ties and the consolidation and ideological cohesion of people of all professions under the banner of restructuring. The participants in the meeting are also going to discuss proposals for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on interethnic relations, which is due next year.

What practical results does the republic expect from the meeting of the people's emissaries? What ideas, feelings, and opinions have Soviet Latvia's working people brought to this forum?

"Without true unity we will not be able to successfully resolve the socioeconomic tasks and cultural and consumer problems which affect the interests of all inhabitants of the Latvian SSR equally," is the view of fitter V. Voshchenko of the Riga trawler fleet. "Any national arrogance is intolerable."

"The detachments of the Latvian Red Riflemen—the combat guards of the revolution—were formed from proletarians. Their internationalist precept must be given new resonance, must inspire the present generation of the working class, and protect the rising generation against the nationalist ravings of various self-styled leaders," K. Demba, technical controller of the "Alfa" production association, said.

"It is necessary to anticipate events in the republic's sociopolitical life in a scientific and party-minded way so as to lead them and not be led along by them in an attempt to rectify the situation which has been created"—that is the view of E. Krukovskiy, general director of the "Tekhnopribor" science and production association.

"Socialist pluralism of opinions is incompatible with the demagogic activists' ultimatums, which are contrary to the point of the revolution. It is time to debunk the anarchic rhetoric and conceited phrase-mongering," A. Churishkis, a foundry man at the "Ausma" production association, said. On the initiative of the International Front of Working People of the Latvian SSR, Riga's workers and engineers greeted the forum with a series of subbotniks at vitally important constructions sites in the republic's capital.

"The 'Sarkanays Kvadrats' and 'Mara' associations have begun a shock vigil and have already sent high-quality, above-plan output, special footwear, and knitted goods to disaster-struck Armenia," V. Ozolinsh, first secretary of Riga's Moskovskiy party raykom, reported. "I am confident that this infusion of Soviet solidarity, class awareness, and nationwide comradeliness will inspire our forum."

Before registration hundreds of delegates went to the donor stations to give blood to help their suffering Armenian brothers.

Consultative Council Planned

LD1212145788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1340 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Riga, 12 Dec (TASS)—Correspondent Galina Kuchina writes:

A consultative council of the peoples of Latvia will be set up at the parliament of this Soviet Baltic republic. This decision was made by delegates to the Latvian Popular Forum, which has ended its work here.

The convocation of the forum "Latvia: Our Common Home" arose from the fact that relations among the nationalities recently have become more difficult in the republic, and residential, social, and demographic problems have grown worse.

The forum gathered precisely in order to prevent the polarization of society and to discuss together the problems that have arisen. The delegates worked out a model for consolidating their forces and for unifying everyone's actions while carefully preserving the ethnic specificities of each nation, its traditions and culture. The forum adopted a number of resolutions. One of them recognized that it is essential to create favorable conditions to popularize the folklore, graphic, musical, and theatrical arts of the peoples and national groups living in Latvia. Other documents adopted contain recommendations for solving the economic, ecological, and demographic problems of the republic.

Forum Issues Viewed

PM1312135588 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 11 Dec 88 p 9

[Bjarne Nitovuori dispatch: "Latvia: New Step Toward Economic Autonomy"]

[Text] Riga—Like Estonia, Latvia is now aiming at economic autonomy within the Soviet Union. A step is this direction will be taken today in Riga, where a 2-day "Popular Forum" yesterday began its deliberations.

The forum, which has been organized by the the Latvian Supreme Soviet together with certain citizens organizations, will today approve a resolution on sovereignty and economic autonomy for Latvia. A draft resolution has been produced by an organizing committee, headed by new Latvian President Anatoliy Gorbunov.

At a press conference during the forum meeting yesterday, economist Yanis Aboltins said that around August-September next year Latvia will submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet a detailed plan for a self-sufficient economy in Latvia.

One of the things the Latvians want is foodstuffs not to be exported from the republic when there is a shortage of food in Latvia. The Latvian Council of Ministers recently decided to halt food exports from the republic. A total of 12 tonnes of food per day is involved.

Aboltins admitted at the press conference that Moscow does not like the Latvians' plans for greater economic independence. However, he was unwilling to say anything about what consequences the proposals could have. Nor did he comment on the plans for a separate Latvian currency.

The Popular Forum has primarily been convened to smooth over national divisions within the country. A conference of this type was thought to be necessary since the formation in October of the Latvian People's Front and the discovery that the non-Latvian nationalities have remained largely outside the Front. The Front consists of 90 percent Latvians, although their share of the population in the whole of Latvia is around 50 percent.

The forum got off to a pretty democratic start when the delegates voted on whether Riga's unpopular mayor, Alfred Rubik, should sit on the committee, one of whose tasks is to debate the resolutions. He was excluded from the committee by a vote of 487 to 365.

Rubik is described as a conservative Communist who has become unpopular because of his brusque statements against the People's Front and the other new popular movements which have emerged in the past few months. A demonstration against Rubik, among others, was arranged outside the conference hall yesterday. One placard read "Rubik, get rid of the snow, not the placards." This is a reference to the city of Riga's savings policy, which has affected snow removal from the city's streets, and to the fact that in past demonstrations Rubik has had demonstrators' placards removed.

A total of 23 nationalities are represented at the forum. However, this is far from all the nationalities in Latvia. A statistical survey compiled especially for the forum lists around 150 nationalities, the majority of which only comprise a handful of individuals who no longer speak the nationality's language. For example, in Latvia in 1979 there were reportedly 446 Finns, 7 Swedes, 6 Danes, 4 Lapps, and 1 Norwegian.

People's Front—Tautas Frontes—leader Daynis Ivans criticized the forum arrangements at a press conference. He said the representatives had not been chosen democratically enough. Some of the delegates were appointed by the leadership and many have had no opportunity to influence selection.

Despite his criticism, Ivans thought the forum was a step forward. He was particulary appreciative of the fact that many delegates condemned Stalin's concept of nationality, according to which the Soviet Union should strive for the assimilation of the Soviet peoples into one nationality. The International Movement, which has been formed chiefly by Russians and other non-Latvians in Latvia, holds the same view of nationalities as Stalin, Ivans said.

Ivans also said that he is against the notion of the Communist Party's being the leading political force in society. But the People's Front is not striving to become a rival party, he said. In the future it is possible that the Front will no longer be needed and that it will be replaced by many different parties.

He described Latvia as an occupied country. The three Baltic states are the only countries occupied during the last war that remain occupied, Ivans said.

"Our goal is not a nonsocialist Latvia, but a sovereign socialist republic," Daynis Ivans said.

TASS on Foreign Involvement in Latvia

LD1012094788 Moscow TASS in English 0553 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Text] Riga December 10—By LATINFORM correspondent Lyudmila Shvarts:

When U.S. citizen Juris Kaza arrived aboard a ship in Riga from Finland there was unpleasant delay for this tourist. Latvia's customs discovered in the baggage undeclared items: an open letter from the Stockholm group in support of the Latvian Popular Front, forms with the signature stamp of the informal group Helsinki'86, and superbly printed membership cards for the members of the group. However, Juris Kaza was not much disappointed: It was not a crime and he got off with strong reprimand.

But, maybe, there is nothing special about the "souvenirs" brought to Latvia by freelance journalists Juris Kaza, who now lives in Sweden and writes for many American publications and Latvian emigre newspapers. However, there is an interesting coincidence: Customs officials recently detained in neighboring Estonia Swedish citizen Maru Strautmane who was returning from Riga with the unusual baggage for a tourist. She had 374 negatives, 53 photos, letters and video cassettes devoted to one subject only: demonstrations, meetings and rallies by informal associations which were scandalous and anti-Soviet. One does not need to possess the deductive method of thinking to guess that Maru Strautmane's "goods" and Juris Kaza's "parcels" are closely related. But to understand what stands behind it all, one has to look at the prehistory of the matter.

A human rights group "Helsinki'86" was organized in Riga in 1986. It comprised a little more than ten people who declared their unacceptance of the policy of the Soviet state and the current status of the republic. The organizers and instigators of the movement presented themselves as the victims of Soviet power. In some sense this corresponded to reality. But only if you regard as such the just punishment meted out for crimes envisaged by Soviet law. Edmund Cirvilis, for example, was convicted in 1945 for sabotage against the USSR. Janis Barkanas has three convictions for malignant hooliganism and theft. The biographies of the other ringleaders of

the group and several veteran members are much similar. It has to be said that all of them have preferred by now to move the front of the struggle for the freedom of Latvia into other countries, like the United States, West Germany and Sweden where they took up residence at the first opportunity.

Who is orchestrating the human rights activists in Latvia now? The relay of Helsinki'86 has been passed over to former chief doctor of a regional hospital Juric Vidins. He learned from the experience of his predecessors: The make-up of the group became more comely and the slogans, which the human rights activists advance, have a "perestroyka" ring about them. True, the Latvian human rights activists understand perestroyka in a peculiar way. For example, while insisting on decentralization they see in it primarily the possibility of Latvia's development outside the economic complex of the USSR. They see the republic's sovereignty only in separation from the USSR.

Small wonder that extremist and nationalistic views of the group did not receive wide backing in Latvia. Helsinki'86 stands by itself in the Popular Front which it has joined. But the group continues to receive unfailingly support from abroad, both moral and material.

There is not shortage of supporters like Juris Kaza, who play the role of mailman. Guests from abroad are flooding Latvia eager to se the Soviet perestroyka in action. Helsinki'86 is willingly cooperating with some of them. Foreign friends bring for the defenders of rights in Latvia not only member cards but also money, clothes, video equipment and other handouts. Incidentally, the current leader of Helsinki'86, Juris Vidins, regards all this as the necessary material platform for carrying out his ideological programme.

Unfortunately, Juris Kaza cannot boast the same vision of a politician. Small wonder since his last place of employment, radio station Freedom, known as the mouthpiece of the CIA, could not teach him this. His activities in the foreign committee of the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party in which U.S. secret services also take close interest, could hardly give Juris Kaza anything new apart from the ability to trade. The members of the Helsinki group pay for the support from abroad with anti-Sovietism. They are readily providing all kind of biased information on the current events in Latvia. In exchange they receive not only money but also instructions as to when and what action to take. It is hardly surprising—he who pays the piper, calls the tune.

Study Says Latvians Support Popular Front

LD1212123688 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2130 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] The public opinion study and forecasting center of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee has ascertained that three-quarters of Latvia's inhabitants fully or partially support the Popular Front of Latvia. A quarter of the republic's inhabitants have expressed a need for the International Front, 55 percent regard it as unnecessary, and 19 percent do not have a firm standpoint on this question. Fifty-five percent of inhabitants support the demand for defining the status of citizenship in the republic, and 93 percent of Latvia's inhabitants think those living in the republic must know both the Latvia and Russian languages.

Popular Front Leader Peters Interviewed

PM0712092488 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 3 Dec 88 p 11

[Report on interview with Latvian Popular Front leader Yanis Peters by Lasse Winkler: "We Want To Create a State Based on Law"]

[Text] "Today Latvia's jurists are as popular as its poets. Under restructuring they have experienced a renaissance," Yanis Peters said.

He is visiting Sweden to report on developments in his homeland. He is a poet by profession and is a member of the recently formed Latvian Popular Front's leadership. Since 1986 he has been a member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

Developments in the Baltic republics are being followed with interest throughout the world. In all three states organizations outside the Communist Party have been formed in 1988. These are the so-called Popular Fronts, which have attracted hundreds of thousands of people.

Latvia's Popular Front held its first preparatory meeting 30 August. Yanis Peters was the force behind it. The first congress was held 8-9 October. In the period of little more than a month between these two meetings 110,000 people joined the Popular Front.

What does the Popular Front want to achieve? Yanis Peters listed demonstrations and meetings. He told me how the Popular Front staged demonstrations when Moscow recently sent its chief ideologist, Vadim Medvedev, to Latvia. The Front organized a street meeting at which Medvedev had to give assurances that he had not come to topple the recently elected government.

Yanis Peters also told me that the Front had collected signatures against the new constitutional proposals on which the Soviet Union's Supreme Soviet recently decided. A million names have been collected.

Yanis Peters takes the view that, in themselves, the demonstrations do not change anything.

"But the Popular Front is working in many fields. We have various committees, including a juridical, economic, ecological, and foreign affairs committee. One of our most important tasks is to put forward a plan for

Latvia's economic development in which some of the most important considerations are an intensification of industry, a raising of the level of technology, and a halt to immigration.

"The national question is the backbone of our work. For the first time in our 4,000-year history we have become a minority in our own country. At the time of the 1979 census there were 53 percent Latvians in Latvia. Now there are 47-48 percent. This trend has given rise to a national depression. Yet despite this we can see an awakening in the country."

Yanis Peters returned to the role of the jurists.

"The Popular Front has a slogan: 'Create a state based on law.' We want to create a sort of further education college where people can receive instruction in human rights. Soviet citizens do not know their rights. For decades we have been told about the Soviet citizen's duty to the state. But the state has long since forgotten its duty to its citizens.

"Jurists are needed in order to create a state based on law. Under perestroyka they have experienced a renaissance. In the past they were a 'dead' profession. Now the jurists are one of the groups forming the Popular Front's ethical core."

In the context of the recent meeting of the Supreme Soviet the Baltic republics' communist parties showed that there is a contradiction within the Soviet Union Communist Party. The Baltic parties demanded greater self-determination vis-a-vis the leadership in Moscow and the other republics. This demand was forced on them by the people's protests in the Baltic republics.

[Winkler] How are relations between the Front and the party?

[Peters] First and foremost, we are not a party. Among us there is a wide spectrum of ideas. In the Front there are human rights groups like Helsinki'86. But there are also party members. Front Chairman Daynis Ivans is a party member, as is Ivars Kebers. Kebers is the Latvian Central Committee's ideology secretary, and he was formerly an attache at the embassy in Stockholm. We have both Lutheran and Orthodox priests as members.

It is important to point out that we are not opposed to perestroyka; we are, rather, a result of it. We are the people's organization.

[Winkler] What is the composition of the Popular Front? In an article in DAGENS NYHETER describing a Popular Front meeting, a worker complained that too few workers were members.

[Peters] That is true. We have to accept that criticism. It is correct. One explanation of this situation is the position of workers in Latvia. During the period of stagnation (a phrase describing the time when Brezhnev was party leader) the workers were the most paralyzed group in society. Their thoughts were the most repressed. The bureaucracy in the Soviet Union has always lived off the workers and does so even today. The workers are afraid that there will simply be new masters on the throne. They even feel that the Popular Front could come to dominate them. I think it is the workers who have the least faith in perestroyka; it is, after all, first and foremost an intellectual movement.

[Winkler] Could Latvia go back to the time before the Popular Front?

[Peters] No. Even the reactionary forces are wise enough to realize that they cannot slow down developments without the Soviet Union disintegrating. But not everything will go smoothly; we will make mistakes and suffer defeats along the road. But I would stress that this is my personal view and not that of the Popular Front.

Another important aspect is that not everything is class interest. There are universal human interests which are above class. Humanism, love, ethics, culture, and religious values, for example. Yes, now the party is admitting that the survival of our planet is more important than the victory of the proletariat throughout the world.

Popular Front Military Stance Criticized

PM0912110488 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Article by Captain 3d Class V. Verbitskiy: "Autumn Games With the Spring Draft: Notes on How Certain Activists of the Liyepaya Section of the Latvian Popular Front Are Trying To Ban Young Popular Military-Patriotic Education"]

[Text] In the Latvian newspapers, while the autumn draft was in full swing, a whole series of similar publications appeared upholding the "rights of draftees." In particular, the Liyepaya city newspaper KOMMUNIST alone, in the course of a month, published the draft program of the Liyepaya section of the Latvian Popular Front with its sharply delineated "military aspects," its official publication "Voice of the People," articles by V. Selivanova, lecturer at Liyepaya State Teacher Training Institute, A. Kraui, teacher at No 1 Secondary School, and others.

What is the crux of their position? It is formulated most concisely in Resolution 7 "On Culture and Education," adopted by a conference of the Liyepaya section of the Latvian Popular Front and published in the aforementioned publication on 16 November 1988: "The conference categorically demands the abolition of military

training in the Latvian education system and the spring draft of graduates of secondary and specialized educational establishments and students for military service."

A few days later these "categorical demands" were commented on in more detail by Vera Selivanova, lecturer at the Teacher Training Institute, who stated frankly that military training at school, "the inculcation of specific hatred toward an unknown potential enemy," and the "Zarnitsa" game are contrary to the humanization of the present-day system of public education, while drafting those who leave school and students into military service is nothing but a result of the "times of Stalinism and stagnation," because "the proportion that continue their studies after the Army is small."

Let us leave to the lecturer's conscience her ignorance or misunderstanding of well-known facts and rejection of concepts that are common knowledge—according to her, the only really educated people are those who have not served in the Army or Navy. In general there would be no need to attach any particular significance to all this, were it not for one important fact. Namely, the concrete actions that back up all these words, directly or indirectly, in the city.

For instance, the Latvian Popular Front Liyepaya section's program demanded the abolition of clinical services to the population as being "ineffective," without putting forward any constructive proposals to replace them. Not only did it demand this, but, taking advantage of the fact that many medical workers have joined the ranks of the Popular Front, it began to put this abolition into practice. Here is an official report of the military commissariat, which graphically demonstrates the initial results of this approach: "Because of the poor quality of clinical services and the lack of effective preventive health care with draftees, one in five of them is flat-footed, only one in three of those needing to wear glasses has seen an ophthalmologist, which leads to progressive deterioration of vision, and in 1988 alone several people were deemed unfit for service because of the state of their teeth...."

This is the comment of Colonel A. Murniyeks, the city's military commissar, on this state of affairs:

"Unfortunately, the military commissariat has recently been forced to take on functions that do not properly belong to it. In particular, the concern for preventive health work with adolescents of 14 and 15, because the people whose official duty this is are making a show of refusing this work."

I would like to take this opportunity to mention the Latvian Popular Front's other "demands." For instance, the abolition of initial military training in schools. In my view, it is absurd even to raise the question in this way. Unfortunately, relatively influential forces have emerged in Liyepaya who either do not understand this need, or will not understand it. Here are some typical examples. The Durbskaya secondary school is rightly regarded as the best in our rayon for military-patriotic education. Its teams regularly come first in the republican "Zarnitsa" and "Orlenok" games. Not for nothing does reserve Major N. Taraban, the school's military instructor, have dozens of letters from pupils who are sincerely grateful that they were prepared for the difficulties they encountered in military service. Yet this teacher's activeness and popularity among the young people are so annoying to the Popular Front representatives that they persistently demand his removal.

Reserve Petty Officer Dmitriy Noskov returned from Afghanistan 2 years ago. A native of Liyepaya and a man who has passed through a tough combat school, he knows very well how things were for the men who were not prepared for service. Therefore, upon his return he immediately set up the "Salang" military-patriotic club in the city. For many months he had to haunt the offices of all kinds of bodies in order to obtain any premises, even emergency premises, for the club. For other clubs premises were found almost instantly, but for the military-patriotic club it was a real problem. As a result "Salang" is unable to work at full strength.

As for the spring draft of students, in my view the demands for its abolition are prompted by two factors. First, by the attempt to attract young people into the ranks of the Latvian Popular Front. But they will be able to assess this "concern" properly only with time, when they have come up against difficulties they are not prepared for. And second, by the incompetence, to put it mildly, of the people putting forward these demands. By drafting students in spring, for instance, we have in mind first and foremost that they will return in spring too, which means they will be able immediately to continue their studies. If they were drafted in the fall, they will inevitably lose a whole academic year as a result.

In all this what strikes me particularly is the fact that the Latvian Popular Front Liyepaya section board is headed by Honored Physician of the Latvian SSR T. Eninsh and Honored Cultural Worker of the Latvian SSR R. Rubins, a teacher.

This is what Maris Markov, chairman of the city DOSAAF committee, says on this point:

"It is very sad that a negative attitude to the predraft training of young people is being actively created and supported by certain official bodies. DOSAAF probably feels the effects of this more than anyone. Judge for yourself: In a city surrounded by water on all sides, the country's future defenders have nowhere to learn to swim. Nowhere to learn to shoot. For many years the question of adapting the auditorium of the former 'Uzvara' movie theater for sports activities has been under discussion, and has yet to be resolved. Moreover

the building of the city DOSAAF committee is beginning to crumble, but neither the party gorkom nor the goripsolkom is in any hurry to help us...."

What can one add... Except to ask another question: Does the participation of young people in verbose, unconstructive rallies, in raising flags consecrated by the clergy, in singing the anthem "God Save Latvia," which is cultivated in the city by the Liyepaya section of the Latvian Popular Front, really mean more, in the eyes of the local authorities, than military-patriotic work? And is it only naivety that explains such active disregard for the cause of the cultivation of Soviet patriotism in young people, their physical improvement, and their training to defend the Motherland?

Latvian International Front Draft Declaration

PM1412092588 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 8 Dec 88 p 2

["Draft Declaration of the Basic Guidelines for the Activity of the International Front of Latvian SSR Working People"]

[Text] Socialism—being a system based on public ownership of the means of production, universal labor, growing prosperity of the people, equality of rights for all citizens, justice, and humanism—has inexhaustible potential for development. However, in the conditions prevailing during the Stalin period and the period of stagnation, an administrative-bureaucratic model of socialism developed in our country, its typical features being the combining of party and state functions, exaggeration of the role played by the executive apparatus in management, restrictions of individual rights, monopoly by the state form of ownership, departmental diktat and incompetence, relatively low living standards for working people, and violations of socialist legality.

The development of democracy and glasnost, the economic reform, and the transformations launched by the CPSU in the political sphere weakened the administrative edict system in the USSR and resulted in considerable sociopolitical activeness by the people. The interests of different social and ethnic groups and their desire to join in restructuring came to light and started being freely expressed. This made ... the emergence of various public and sociopolitical organizations.

I. General Principles

The International Front of Latvian SSR Working People (Interfront) is a voluntary public organization created at the initiative of working people for the purpose of involving the republic's residents in the implementation and deepening of restructuring, and uniting within its ranks workers, peasants, members of the intelligentsia, young people, and the nonworking section of the population regardless of their party, national, or racial affiliation or religious convictions.

The Interfront recognizes the CPSU's leading role in society, acts autonomously [samostoyatelno] and democratically in conformity with the USSR Constitution and laws, the Latvian SSR Constitution and laws, and the Interfront declaration and statute, and cooperates with party, soviet, and state organs, labor collective councils, public and sociopolitical organizations, and other societies sharing common goals and tasks with the Interfront.

The Interfront advocates active participation by all healthy forces in the republic in the solution of acute problems in the economy, the social sphere, and interethnic relations.

The Interfront will struggle for the development of national awareness, for the equality of all nations and ethnic groups living in the republic, for the protection of their interests, against manifestations of bureaucratism, Stalinshchina, chauvinism, and nationalism, for the stabilization of the political climate in our common home.

II. Democratization of Society

The Interfront recognizes the need for fundamentally new social relations in the republic, aimed at creating conditions for the free development and self-expression of every individual and family, of society as a whole, and of individual nations and ethnic groups. The Interfront calls on the republic's citizens to act in a spirit of fraternity, equality, and cooperation in relations with one another;

—it supports the radical reform of the political system proposed by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, the demarcation of party and state functions, the revival of the power of the soviets, and the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial power;

—it advocates the upholding of the Latvian SSR's political and socioeconomic interests within the USSR, universal and equal elections of deputies to soviets at all levels, open competition between candidate deputies, and glasnost in the course of elections.

The Interfront advocates the creation of a socialist rule-of-law state. All citizens of the republic must have an opportunity to directly participate in the discussion of draft laws and other normative acts.

The Interfront believes that the courts must become genuinely independent in their activity, and must be guided only by the law. A court with an expanded collegium of lay assessors ought to be created. It supports the idea of creating a constitutional committee (court) of the republic. Supreme supervision of the accurate and uniform discharge and application of laws must be exercised by the USSR general prosecutor, and on the territory of the Latvian SSR by a Latvian SSR prosecutor appointed by him and subordinate to him. The Interfront advocates the assignment of investigations to an

independent organ, the right of citizens to appeal to the courts against unlawful decisions by officials and collegial organs, the improvement of legislation on the detention and arrest of citizens, the opportunity for attorneys to take part in the investigation from the moment of a citizen's detention, and the right to judicial appeal against detention or arrest.

The Interfront is in favor of full glasnost in state and social life, and of the need for the republic's population to be regularly supplied through the mass media with political, economic, ecological, demographical, medical, sociological, and other information. It believes that a genuine socialist democracy can be secured only through socialist pluralism of opinions. It advocates glasnost in the monitoring of the work of law enforcement organs, State Security services, and internal troops, and the need to adopt a law on state secrets. All public organizations, including the Interfront, must be given access to the mass media to express their views.

The Interfront supports the process of democratization in the trade unions and believes that their basic task is to protect the rights and interests of working people and to ensure labor safety; it advocates equal availability of social security funds to all working people.

The Interfront believes that the USSR is a single multinational state, and it supports the institution of a single all-union citizenship throughout the USSR's territory. The status of citizenship of the Latvian SSR must be elaborated in conformity with the USSR Constitution and the Latvian SSR Constitution.

The Interfront supports the demands by the republic's public concerning the need for further democratic development of the Latvian culture and language, radical changes in the ecological and demographical situation, and development of industry and agriculture with due consideration for the specific features of the republic and the country's Baltic region.

The Interfront believes that questions of the country's defense must be within the USSR's jurisdiction and are its prerogative.

The Interfront advocates peace, general and complete disarmament, the proclamation of a zone free of nuclear weapons in the Baltic and Scandinavian regions, free contacts between the republic's citizens and citizens of other states, and the right of any citizen, with due consideration for specific conditions, to choose his place of residence within the USSR or in any country in the world.

The Interfront suggests the publication of the names of Nazi criminals and of direct organizers and active perpetrators of crimes by nationalist gangs and Stalinist repressions on Latvia's territory.

III. Economic Reform

The Interfront believes that the main task of economic reform in the Latvian SSR is to bring the republic's economy to a qualitatively new state, making it possible to ensure greater efficiency of social production and higher real living standards for working people. It is important to make people happy today, to give them confidence in the future for themselves, for their children, and for their grandchildren.

The Interfront advocates the republic's economic autonomy within the framework of the country's integrated national economic complex, in line with the principles of economic accountability, self-financing, and self-management by labor collectives, and on the basis of real implementation of these principles and other laws of economic reform; it advocates full power for soviets of people's deputies at all levels, both in running the economy and in solving the social problems of the republic's population.

The material foundation for ensuring the republic's economic autonomy lies in the development of science-intensive, resource-saving, waste-free, competitive, and ecologically clean production processes and technologies in industry and agriculture with due consideration for the republic's historical and cultural traditions.

The Interfront recognizes the diversity of forms of socialist ownership of the means of production, and it will assist the development of contractual relations, leasing contracts, concessions, establishment of joint enterprises with foreign capital, special economic zones on the Latvian SSR's territory, and other progressive forms of economic management;

—it will assist the development of the diversity of forms of socialist ownership, the transfer of individual state enterprises to labor collectives on a lease basis, the development of the cooperative movement and of individual labor activity, and the transfer of land to peasants for use on terms of leases of unlimited duration;

—it advocates farms' economic autonomy in the choice of economic management forms, including the creation of family farms, voluntary cooperatives, direct access to the market, and encouragement of their activity via a system of privileges and credit facilities.

Within the framework of economic reform, the Interfront proposes: to embark on the reconstruction and, whenever necessary, even the liquidation of inefficiently operating enterprises; to create medium and small autonomous enterprises using advanced technology; to transform one of the agricultural machine-building plants into a specialized science and production association for the production of equipment for the Baltic region; to elaborate a program for reducing energy consumption by the republic's industry and to build efficient power stations in harmony with the environment; to

make its contribution to an independent scientific appraisal of the main economic problems and to their discussion by the population.

The state regulation of commodity producers' activity should be effected by economic methods: taxes, subsidies, rental payments, state purchases, interest rates, and so on. Administrative edict methods should be abandoned in the management of commodity producers' activity.

The Interfront condemns the extensive path of development of the republic's economy and productive forces, and advocates the elaboration of industrial development plans based primarily on the republic's existing labor resources. The prevailing mechanical growth of the population must be resolutely halted by means of a package of economic measures. The Interfront, jointly with other interested organizations, will actively participate in the elaboration of a law on halting the mechanical growth of the Latvian SSR's population.

In order to ensure priority development for the republic's agriculture, the Interfront deems it expedient to create on joint stock principles a bank for the economic development of the agro-industrial complex, funded by special long-term deposits, citizens' personal savings, and part of the profits of the Latvian SSR's labor collectives.

IV. Social Sphere

The Interfront's main objective in the social sphere is to raise the living standards of the republic's population, to develop the working people's creative capabilities, to affirm social justice, and to eliminate various "special" benefits—the hardships which the people are still experiencing must be equally shared by the leaders.

In the Distribution Sphere

The proportion of resources allocated from national income for consumption needs should be increased by boosting the efficiency of social production.

For the purpose of ensuring every worker's direct economic interest in the results of his labor and improving the economic condition of enterprises (institutions, organizations), it is necessary to lift all restrictions on the size of earned incomes in the state sector of production. Highly skilled and intensive labor must be highly remunerated. Centralized regulation of wages must be abolished, and labor collectives themselves ought to be given the right to determine the size of wages and bonuses on the basis of the end result of the enterprise's activity. The Interfront condemns the strong-arm methods of bringing working people to work on their days off owing to "production necessity."

The minimum amount necessary to live on must be determined and, on the basis of this amount, there must be guaranteed minimum wages and minimum amounts of pensions, subsidies, and stipends. Any rise in the prices of prime necessities must be compensated by a corresponding increase in the minimum wage and other payments.

It is necessary to set up a republic mother and child foundation, which will ensure the following for all residents of the republic: payment of benefits during the first 3 years following a child's birth, reduction of the hours worked by working mothers of children who have not attained their majority, partial repayment of credit facilities granted for acquisition of housing, financing of family-style children's preschool institutions, and assistance to large families and single mothers.

There should be support for the initiative by labor collective councils for reducing the workday (working week) for working mothers of minors by means of full or partial compensation for any wage loss from enterprise funds.

In conjunction with state and other public organizations, it will participate in the elaboration of a comprehensive "charity" program for the purpose of creating conditions to ensure than invalids feel themselves valued members of society and to enable them to participate as much as possible in any sphere of human activity.

The Interfront is in favor of establishing a different, socially fairer order for the allocation and distribution of housing space depending on the length of residence, the extent of housing amenities available, family composition, length of continuous employment, and so on. Stock must be taken of the republic's state dachas, and any suitable and underutilized dachas should be transferred to the ispolkoms' housing stock for subsequent reconstruction and allocation to families needing to improve their housing conditions. All this work must be carried out under strict public monitoring with observance of glasnost. Differentiated apartment rentals should be introduced, dependent on the availability of amenities and the level of comfort in the housing area. Opportunities should be made available to enable single and elderly citizens to exchange their current housing for smaller accommodation within the boundaries of the same rayon or city, subject to appropriate compensation. In order to reduce the waiting lines for housing, every family needing to improve its housing conditions must be given an unconditional right to either join a housing construction cooperative or to build its individual home.

In the Public Education Sphere

The Interfront deems it necessary to consolidate the material and technical base of schools and to give all schools, regardless of the language in which they teach, equal conditions as regards: size of classes (not more

than 25 pupils); provision of visual teaching aids, furniture, and computing equipment; utilization of sports facilities; nomination of workers in education to attend conferences and congresses.

Decisions on changing the duration and content of instruction must be made subject to consent by the majority of public education school councils.

The Interfront deems it inappropriate to change school vacation times at variance with all-union vacation times, because this would harm pupils' international education and would restrict the opportunities available to them to participate in cultural and sports events or to travel in the country.

It advocates rejection of military training for girls in schools and VUZ's, and it supports the idea of deferring the call-up of VUZ students to the Soviet Army and Navy and of altering the instruction procedure in military faculties.

The Interfront is in favor of observing the principle of schools' separation from the church.

It is in favor of raising the standards of aesthetic and general cultural education in schools and vocational and technical schools, of systematically organizing mass cultural events there with participation by members of Latvia's creative unions.

The general education school curriculum must ensure knowledge of all subjects to meet at least the standards of the syllabus for entrance examinations to USSR VUZ's. Schools must be given an opportunity to choose between republic and all-union tuition syllabuses and plans, subject to full implementation of republic syllabus sections on Latvian history, geography, and literature. There must be support for the idea of creating schools for writers. Abandoned schools in the countryside must be revived and become rural centers for cultural and enlightenment work. Appropriate benefits must be instituted for teachers in these schools.

The Interfront deems it necessary that every VUZ and secondary specialized education establishment provide students with Latvian or Russian language tuition in their nonnative language to the extent and in the direction necessary for successful work in their future specialized field. There must be a guaranteed right to be educated in all specialized fields needed by the republic in both the Latvian and the Russian language.

In the Sphere of Science and Culture

The Interfront deems it expedient to effect a consolidation of the republic's scientists with a view to eliminating the barriers existing between academic and departmental institutions. The Interfront will assist the introduction of achievements by Latvian scientists furthering the development of the republic's national economy; it will support Latvia's scientists whose research helps to boost Latvia's standing in the USSR and abroad; it will support democratization and glasnost in science, scientists' right to freely express their views, and the independence of scientific experts and appraisal of any administrative interference and departmentalism.

It advocates that all nationalities living on the territory of the Latvian SSR be given full opportunities to implement their national-cultural demands and satisfy their religious needs; it supports the priority development of the Latvian national culture without any detriment to the language and cultural interests of people of other nationalities. A certain proportion (not less than two-thirds) of state budget funds for the development of culture must be distributed in proportion to the numerical strength of every nationality's representatives, and the remaining part could be channeled to supplement the development of the Latvian national culture.

The Interfront advocates juridical recognition of national cultural societies enjoying mass support; it supports the idea of publishing newspapers in the Latgalian, Ukrainian, Polish, and Belorussian languages, in one of the Jewish languages, and the publication of a children's monthly journal in Russian with pages in the languages of Latvia's other ethnic minorities; the establishment of an independent Latvian television editorial office for broadcasts in Russian and other ethnic minority languages.

In the Health Care Sphere

The Interfront deems it expedient to institute personalized social health care funds to be financed by funds deducted from the state budget, the state social security, the social development funds of enterprises, institutions, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and cooperatives, and voluntary charitable contributions by public organizations and individual citizens for the purpose of covering all expenditure on medical services for the population. The labor remuneration of workers in health care institutions should be implemented in line with the principles of economic accountability and team (collective, cooperative) contracts based on the end result of activity—the "health index." Order must be brought to the system of medical services for the population by creating territorial (regional) health centers.

In order to improve the ecological situation in the republic, it is necessary to create a sanitary epidemiological service independent of local organs of power and vested with real rights to halt the planning, construction, or operation by ecologically harmful production units or to close such units down. It should be incumbent upon traffic services in all forms of transport to promptly supply information about the movement of ecologically dangerous freight in transit across the republic's territory or territorial waters, and it should be incumbent upon the sanitary epidemiological service to properly monitor

such movements. The chief physician of the republic's sanitary epidemiological service should be appointed by and be accountable to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Interfront is in favor of local soviets permanently and regularly satisfying the needs of preventive medicine institutions for medicines and reagents in line with normatives established jointly by the Latvian SSR Ministry of Health and the Latvian Republic Trade Union Council.

It calls on labor collectives to elaborate economic incentives aimed at improving the population's health, making citizens personally interested in improving and maintaining their health, and reducing harmful habits among the population (alcoholism, smoking, drug addiction, and so on); a resolute end must be put to the prevailing practice whereby individual unconscientious citizens find it economically more advantageous to be "sick" rather than to work.

It is necessary to wage a resolute struggle against negative phenomena in health care work such as inflated medical record keeping and paperwork, and others.

In the Interfront's opinion, the siting and construction of a new sanatorium and resort base, residential homes for the elderly, and their reconstruction should be conducted according to constantly variable normatives in line with the improving material situation of the population. The Interfront insists that children's vacation bases and young pioneers' camps be transferred from the city of Yurmala to the Vetsaki-Saulkrasty territory.

In the Physical Culture and Sports Sphere

The Interfront perceives the main point as being the unrestricted availability of sports facilities and equipment and the opportunity to pursue any chosen sport without age restrictions; state finance should be retained only for mass physical culture, and a system of economically accountable clubs should be introduced in professional sport.

The Interfront supports the creation of a republic Olympic committee as a branch of the USSR National Olympic Committee.

V. Interethnic Relations

The Interfront believes that interethnic relations in the republic are in a state of tension at present. Interethnic problems must be solved in line with the principles of socialist democracy and social justice, taking guidance from the USSR Constitution and the Latvian SSR Constitution and observing the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and other international documents on human rights signed and ratified by the USSR.

The basic condition for normalization of interethnic relations is the free development and reciprocal enrichment of all nations, nationalities, and ethnic groups living in the Latvian SSR. The Interfront suggests the creation of a chamber of nationalities within the framework of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, and permanently operating commissions on nationality questions under local soviets.

Appointments to state offices must be based primarily on candidates' professional and moral qualities. It is necessary to compile a list of offices requiring knowledge of the Latvian and Russian languages.

The Interfront assumes that the acute demographical situation in the republic basically developed because union departments failed to take into account the republic's labor resources and ignored the development of the social infrastructure of production and cities, and is also due to the slow pace of scientific and technical progress. The Interfront advocates an end to the mechanical growth of population, primarily through economic methods and by industrial enterprises assimilating modern technologies. It is impossible to allow any infringement of the civic rights of people who find themselves in the Latvian SSR as a result of unconsidered demographical policy. The Interfront calls upon labor collective councils, economic leaders, and the working class to monitor the questions of ending the mechanical growth of the population.

The Interfront deems it necessary to enshrine in the Latvian SSR Constitution the status of state language for both the Latvian and the Russian languages as historically established languages of interethnic contacts; the republic's residents must have the opportunity to use either of these languages and to receive official documents in the language of their choice; official documents must also become bilingual. It is necessary to implement a system of legal and economic measures to assist the natural and harmonious development of bilingualism; any administrative interference in this problems leads to tension in interethnic relations.

The Interfront suggests that the unsatisfactory situation regarding the study of the Latvian language in all educational establishment be remedied, that immediate measures be taken to train lecturers and to elaborate uniform Latvian language requirements applicable to graduates of non-Latvian-language schools and Russian language requirements applicable to graduates of non-Russian-language schools; conditions must be created to enable all citizens of the republic to study the Latvian and Russian languages; there must be mass publication of literature for those wishing to embark on independent study of the Latvian language.

The Interfront believes that it is necessary to thoroughly study and provide an objective picture of Latvia's history, including its "blank spots." The Interfront suggests, in the long run, the abolition of the question under the

heading "nationality" in all types of official state forms because nationality is a cultural and ethnic rather than an administrative and management term. The Interfront suggests that law enforcement organs step up their work on holding citizens more strictly accountable for fanning interethnic dissension.

The Interfront deems it necessary to establish the status of state, ethnic, and national holidays and memorial days for the Latvian SSR.

VI. Environmental Protection

The Interfront perceives the improvement of the ecological situation as the most important problem in the republic and assumes that, in order to create a system of ecologically substantiated utilization of nature, it is necessary to elaborate and submit for discussion by the whole people a scientific concept and a program for ecology and environmental protection.

It is impermissible to plan any industrial or agricultural project without an independent ecological appraisal followed by discussion of its results in conditions of glasnost. There must be substantial enhancement of the ecological competence and civilized ecological behavior not only of leaders but also of the whole population.

It is necessary to create a cadastral register and introduce differentiated payments for the utilization of land and water; to ensure full compensation for any damage inflicted on nature and the application of effective legal sanctions against culprits; to ensure effective monitoring of the entry, transit shipment, utilization, and burial of substances harmful to the environment and health; to prevent the burial of toxic and radioactive waste in the republic's territory if it originates outside its boundaries; to regularly publish and to report on radio and television information on the condition of the environment and its pollution and any expected consequences.

The Interfront advocates ecologically substantiated methods for the running of agriculture. It is necessary to bring small forests and groves into the land utilization structure, to revive Latvia's former nature reserve zones and to create new ones, and to achieve regular implementation of effective environmental protection measures on territories under Ministry of Defense jurisdiction.

The Interfront will help the Latvian SSR's directive organs to elaborate, jointly with the Estonian SSR's directive organs, a program for measures to be implemented in 1989-1990 to improve the ecological situation in the Gulf of Riga and, as from early 1991, to give this gulf the status of nature reserve, with its resources being used exclusively for the creation of zones for the population's rest and therapy, for fishing, and for shipping.

The Interfront deems it necessary to prohibit the planning of housing and social-administrative buildings in Riga and other large cities without underground garages, and to halt the construction of projects in the republic unless they are fitted with purification installations, regardless of their departmental subordination; the Interfront will assist in the building of purification installations in the city of Riga.

The Interfront will actively cooperate with other organizations, including organizations abroad, in the sphere of ecology and environmental protection.

The Interfront calls on all residents of the republic, regardless of their nationality, to rally in the struggle for restructuring and to display utmost civic responsibility for its future in the Latvian SSR and the country as a whole.

The Interfront addresses to all primary, rayon, and city organizations the suggestion that they study the declaration in detail and assist the implementation of its provisions by specific deeds for the benefit of restructuring.

Remarks and suggestions on the contents of the declaration should be sent to Interfront rayon councils or to the republic organizational committee at the following address: 226019 Riga, No 1 Lomonosov Street.

Telephone numbers for inquiries: 24-02-37, 24-01-93.

International Front Leader Interviewed

PM0612153988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS correspondents L. Stavenov, A. Russkiy report on interview with S. Bukashkin, cochairman of the Latvian International Front: "A Call for Unity of Action"]

[Text] The statutes of the International Front of the Working People of the Latvian SSR, an organization which comprises some 300,000 representatives of various nationalities, have been published in Latvia. TASS correspondents have met and talked with activists of this movement—workers from a number of plants in Riga.

Although the legal aspects of the establishment of our movement have not yet been entirely sorted out, said S. Bukashkin, cochairman of the Interfront organizational committee and head of a department at the Riga Institute of Civil Aviation Engineers, its members have already carried out much practical work. The backbone of the movement are men of action—workers, engineers, scientists.

[Correpondents] Sergey Anatolevich, how did the nationwide movement in support of restructuring, which has now encompassed the whole country, split into two opposing camps, as it were, here in Latvia?

[Bukashkin] In my opinion it all began with a serious mistake on the part of grassroots party organizations and even the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, which adopted a wait-and-see attitude toward the processes of restructuring. In addition to economic, ecological, and day-to-day problems, interethnic relations deteriorated and the local press, radio, and television did nothing to alleviate them.

To begin with, our 10,000-strong collective actively supported the Popular Front movement. We even set up a Popular Front cell at the institute with a membership of 500 people and sent 4 delegates to this movement's constituent congress. They were hoping to introduce a number of constructive proposals into its program. For instance, Professor Vinogradov wanted to propose a solution to the energy problem. The point is that our institute is very experienced in the development of wind-energy installations which are of tremendous importance in Latvia with its strong coastal winds. Many kolkhozes and sovkhozes could be supplied with electricity right now with the help of our economical wind-turbines. To some extent wind energy could replace the output of the Daugavpils GES and the Liyepaya AES whose construction has been suspended in compliance with people's wishes. We wanted to take on the compilation of plans, training of specialists, the entire scientific backup of this problem. However our representatives, scientists Aboltinsh, Peterson, Vinogradov, and Panasenko, who are respected throughout the republic, were excluded from attending the DNF Congress because they pointed out contradictions in respect of the CPSU Statutes in the Latvian Popular Front program.

It was after this that the efforts to create the International Front were launched. The desire to prevent interethnic strife brought thousands of people into the Interfront, literally in a matter of days. In October representatives of 153 Latvian enterprises gathered at our institute's House of Culture and drew up the Interfront's statutes and program. These documents reaffirm the leading role of the party in our society and loyalty to the cause of building socialism.

[Correspondents] What forms of work are the Interfront's activists using in the struggle for their program?

[Bukashkin] We are trying to back up truthful words with concrete actions in an effort to eliminate problems which are evoking people's acute dissatisfaction. For instance, Riga's purification installations have been declared an Interfront people's construction project. We have spent several subbotniks in Leningradskiy Rayon repairing the building and tidying up the surroundings of a children's home where orphans of Latvian origin live. We are planning to build an international cultural center, a youth sports complex, and sociocultural and environmental protection facilities in Riga for money contributed to our fund by enterprises.

[Correspondents] Is it possible, in your view, for the two fronts to merge into a single popular movement which would accelerate rather than hamper the processes of restructuring?

[Bukashkin] Paragraph 3 of the Interfront's statutes states that one of its key tasks is to strengthen the friendship and cooperation of peoples on the principles of internationalism. We will do everything in our power to unite all the healthy forces of the two fronts into a single movement on this basis. Our propaganda workers are calling for this at all urban and rural enterprises. I personally have made such an appeal in approximately 100 collectives. We are also pinning great hopes on the Latvian Popular Forum which is scheduled to take place on 10 December this year. It is necessary to ensure that the energy of Latvia's best minds is channeled into the joint solution of overdue problems rather than confrontation.

Latvian Kolkhoz Chairman on International Front

PM1212115588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 11 Dec 88 p 2

[Interview with L.L. Stash, chairman of the Kirov Kolkhoz, by correspondent A. Timkov in Ludzenskiy Rayon, Latvian SSR: "Not Division, But Union"; date not given; first paragraph is SELSKAYA ZHIZN introduction]

[Text] Ludzenskiy Rayon, Latvian SSR—A report appeared recently in the republican newspaper LAUKU AVIZE ("RURAL NEWSPAPER")—L.L. Stash, chairman of the Kirov kolkhoz, which is well known in Latvia, had initiated the creation of an International Front in the rayon. Our correspondent asked Leonard Lyudvigovich Stash to comment on his decision.

[Stash] The impetus was the conflict in the city school where children from our kolkhoz also study. A group of teachers of Latvian nationality belonging to the Popular Front of Latvia announced an alleged infringement of their rights and began to demand that the school be split into Latvian-language and Russian-language schools. Together we began to ascertain the sources of people's dissatisfaction, to think about how to extinguish the passions. It was then that the idea was born of seeking ways to unite people irrespective of their nationality. Unfortunately, many people in the Popular Front, which also speaks of its desire for this objective, if we are to believe its program, are as yet not confirming this in deeds. They are promoting to the fore the interests of the Latvians, although people of other nationalities who have chosen our republic as their place of residence are also in need of a great deal. They are experiencing in the same way as the indigenous population the shortage of food and industrial goods and suffering from the pollution of the environment.

[Timkov] Leonard Lyudvigovich, the attitude toward the two popular movements in the republic is far from uniform. Each has its own supporters. Why are your sympathies on the side of the International Front?

[Stash] I am far from in favor of lashing one front and praising the other. They have much in common. But I do not share the position whereby people believe: My anguish is stronger because it is mine. In my view that is precisely the position adopted by the majority in the Popular Front. It has failed to rally people of different nationalities and has, on the contrary, introduced a split. This was manifested particularly after the inaugural congress. I think that what can be discerned here is not design but unconsidered, sometimes over-emotional actions against those who disagree with individual provisions of the Popular Front program or try to criticize it. Naturally, the pressure and the issuing of labels are not introducing calm or extinguishing passions. This is aggravating the solution of many problems which have accumulated in the republic during the years of economic stagnation. That is why I am in favor of the International Front, whose very name bears the idea of the consolidation of all forces in support of restructuring. Its activists are suggesting specific deeds.

In Riga, for instance, the supporters of the International Front have organized and regularly hold subbotniks at the construction of the city's purifying installations. Their commissioning will normalize the ecological situation in the Riga Gulf. In our rayon we are planning assistance in the construction of a school and apartments for teachers. Our kolkhoz is making its contribution on a par with other enterprises and facilities in the rayon.

I am convinced that we can cope with the elimination of all acute problems. We need only restraint and calm. Conversely, extremism, haste, and unconsidered statements and actions are dangerous. I am in favor of genuine democracy and glasnost, but without mutual recriminations and abusive attacks. Long experience of work in an international collective shows that we are perfectly capable of living as close neighbors without infringing on each other's dignity.

[Timkov] I agree with you. There is scarcely any need to convince anyone that people's cohesion is extremely necessary to us. Nonetheless there is still no consensus.

[Stash] In my opinion this is largely the result of the confusion of party workers who at such a complex time have been unable to head the restructuring which has been launched in the republic, have been unable to head the people's initiative. In individual rayons the situation has gotten out of control. Coordinated actions are needed to stabilize the situation. All this hard work to overcome stagnation in the economy, culture, and the social sphere and to establish social justice and improve people's living conditions must be performed by the Communists, the organs of Soviet power. All healthy forces seeking to accelerate the processes of transformations and to achieve the aims outlined by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference must rally around them.

On the other hand, there are people in society who for various reasons want to introduce discord and seek to arrest the transformations which are being implemented. Through sharp, impartial speeches and criticism of individual officials they have won a certain popularity, especially among young people. Emotions also predominate among a certain section of the intelligentsia. The words "occupiers" and "colonialists," which wound and offend people of various nationalities who have come to our land and contributed to the development of the republic's economy, have circulated in the republic at a favorable moment. These people are not to blame for the fact that the union departments, sometimes without considering the specific features of a region and its potential, have strenuously developed sectors of industry which require the import of raw material from elsewhere and which pollute nature.

It is necessary to struggle against the diktat of sectors but wrong to shift one's anger to people solely because they speak another language. Perhaps the increased influx of the population into the republic should be restricted. This should be done primarily in the cities and resort zone. I think we should not extend restrictions to rural regions, especially those in which manpower is in short supply.

Surely we cannot imagine our kolkhoz's successes without the chief zootechnician, P. Selyuzhitskiy, a Belorussian, the stockraisers Agafya and Ivan Shishlo, from the Ukraine, machine operator A. Daurishov, an Azerbaijani, or S. Garpukhyan, a construction worker from Armenia?

Our kolkhoz is strengthening through the joint labor of people of different nationalities. Many houses in the settlement were constructed by seasonal construction workers from the Transcaucasus. We are grateful to them for this. Sanitary ware received from the country's fraternal republics has been installed in the houses. Equipment, fuel, fertilizers, and other material resources also reach us from outside Latvia. In turn the farm sells the state milk, meat, potatoes, and flax. The republic cannot live without these economic ties.

Our state will be stronger if it closes ranks and rids itself of interethnic quarrels. We must be united and not only at the time of the calamity which has befallen the Armenian people.

We should not try to shake loose our alliance, as some people are doing, but strengthen it in every way; we should not paint the past in rose-colored hues, as is often done today, but work for the future together and in harmony.

[Timkov] It seems to me that your words could generate dissatisfaction among those who fear that the Latvians may be in a minority in their own land.

[Stash] I think my opponents should not get carried away by emotion. They, and primarily our intelligentsia, should be guided by reason and proceed from the real state of affairs. I am sure that no one, even the most ardent patriot, wants to see his or her land devastated and covered in bushes which produce no grain. I also hope that it is clear to everyone that the land will not flower without conscientious hands. And if remote fields fall out of circulation before my eyes, I cannot remain indifferent. Nor, as a Communist and a man, can I refuse a person who wants to work on the land solely because he is not a Latvian.

Our region has long been an international one. Russians, Belorussians, Ukrainians, Tatars, and representatives of other nationalities work alongside Latvians. We are not at war; we do not experience hostility for each other. I, like many other Latvians living here, am not worried by the fact that our republic has become the native republic of people of other nationalities. While communicating among ourselves in Russian, we do not forget our native language either. In the rayon there are schools and other educational establishments in which Latvian is the language of instruction, newspapers and many books are published, and television and radio broadcasts are relayed. In my opinion there can be no question of any infringement. For instance, my personal library contains books predominantly in Latvian. In my opinion more of them are published than are published in Russian.

[Timkov] In an interview with a SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA correspondent People's Artist of the USSR Raymond Pauls, chairman of the Latvian State Committee for Culture, said: "Nowadays everyone is engaged to some degree or other in political disputes and is drawn into all kinds of discussions. There is no denying that this is a good thing if it is within the limits of reason and serves to benefit the cause."

[Stash] I share his opinion. We must unfailingly remember where we are going and what we want to achieve. If we really want changes, we should not seek the reasons for errors in incidental areas but actively create the present and the future. After all, disputes will only delay the solution of urgent problems.

Under these conditions a special role belongs to the leaders of the labor collectives, the leaders of public organizations, and the intelligentsia. They can put an end to fruitless meetings and approach the solution of problems from a position of reason.

We must build a rule-of-law democratic state, strengthen the republic's autonomy, and improve people's lives. Noble aims must be achieved by suitable methods.

Emigre Deplores Latvia's Environmental Plight

PM0812161388 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 6 Dec 88 p 9

[Report on interview with exiled Latvian "environmental activist" Valdis Turins by Linda Freimanis: "Latvian Activist Sounds Alarm on Baltic Environmental Problems"; date, place not given]

[Text] "Restructuring in the Soviet Union is being implemented at the expense of people and nature. It is being paid for in broken family relationships, stress, illness, and increased environmental destruction."

The words are those of Valdis Turins, a Latvian environmental activist and philosopher who was expelled from the Soviet Union in early October and has since lived in West Germany. Recently he was invited to Sweden and took part in a seminar on Nordic and East European environmental work.

His claim sounds strange, because the last year's rapid developments in the Baltic region have been possible thanks to Gorbachev's more open policies. But Turins explained:

"Restructuring is an attempt to strengthen political power in the Kremlin through reforms. Gorbachev is forced to do something about the economy because the country finds itself in a crisis. The reforms have to happen quickly, they are ill-considered, and they are being forced through without any additional resources being provided. So people are forced into overtime work and stress and there is neither time nor money for environmental protection."

Valdis Turins belongs to VAK [expansion unknown], Latvia's environmental protection association, and was the group's ideological leader up to his departure. His influence on the growing environmentalist movement was disliked by the authorities, who let him know that he was no longer wanted in the country.

"I realized early on what political power lies in the Greens movement. Even in the seventies I was trying to form discussion groups on this theme, but the authorities worked against me. VAK was formally created in the spring of 1987, and last fall I too joined."

Today VAK has independent sections in many localities in Latvia and has developed into a democratic forum for Latvians of all ages who want to take part in the work to save their country.

The problems which the environmentalist movement has to solve are enormous. Latvia is a densely industrialized country where 90 percent of all industry is under the direct control of Moscow and production is intended to serve the whole of the Soviet Union.

"The chemical industry in Olaine, the wood pulp factory in Sloka, Valmiera's glass fiber industry, the Ventspils port, and Riga itself are all examples of places where waste is simply dumped directly into the ground or into water without any form of treatment," Turins said.

"Our forests are dying, our lakes are turning acidic, and Latvia's biggest river, the Daugava, which flows into the Gulf of Riga, is dying. It has almost become a stagnant pond and all the fish have disappeared."

The environmental movement in Latvia is playing an active part in the struggle for self-determination, and VAK as an organization is represented in the Popular Front.

"We have realized that national liberation is needed to save Latvia's environment. Latvia is a small country and cannot cope with an industrialization designed to meet the needs of the Soviet Union. Without national independence we have no right of decision, no chance of influencing the press or school syllabuses to educate people about the catastrophic ecological situation Latvia finds itself in. A lot happens because of ignorance, and the authorities hush up the problems as best they can."

Turins believes that the environmentalist movements in the West do not understand the importance of Baltic national liberation. There is of course a common denominator in man's relationship with and respect for nature among the "Greens" in East and West, but much more information and understanding is needed before cooperation can begin, he said.

"Cooperation between the Baltic and the Nordic countries is in everyone's interest," Turins said. "If, for example, the plans to build a nuclear power station in the Baltic city of Liyepaya were realized, that would affect Sweden greatly. Do you think that new Soviet power stations are safer than the old ones, like the one in Chernobyl?"

Asked about future developments in Latvia, Turins said:

"Sooner or later there will be a reaction. But since nothing changes fundamentally in the Soviet Union, a new crisis is to be expected. If it comes quickly enough, let us say, within 10 years, then we Balts can start again where we left off. Next time we will be better prepared, and then I see a realistic chance for us to retire from the struggle victorious."

Further on Estonian 2 Dec Supreme Soviet

PM1312161988 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 4 Dec 88 p 3

[ETA report: "Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session"]

[Text] A session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held on 2 December under the chairmanship of A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

There was a detailed examination of the questions submitted to the upcoming session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. On this occasion it was proposed that nine questions be placed on the agenda.

The state plan for the economic and social development of the Estonian SSR for 1989 and progress in the fulfillment of the state plan for economic and social development in 1988 will be examined first. Afterward the Estonian SSR state budget for 1989 and the implementation of the Estonian SSR state budget for 1987 will be discussed. The session will also examine the question of the situation in environmental protection and tasks in the protection of nature and the use of natural resources in the Estonian SSR. A concept of nature protection and the rational use of natural resources will be submitted to people's deputies for adoption.

It is proposed that the agenda include the question of progress in elaborating the concept of the republic's transfer to economic accountability. After a detailed discussion, during which reports were heard from E. Pyldroos, chairman of the commission on the status of the Estonian laguage, and E. Payumaa, representative of an expert group and academic secretary of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Language and Literature, it was decided to place on the agenda the question of the status of the Estonian language in the Estonian SSR. The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium proposed that the session adopt an addition to the Estonian SSR Constitution on the recognition of Estonian as the state language and continue the discussion of the amended and augmented draft law on language with the subsequent adoption of this law at the next session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

It was decided to place the following questions on the agenda of the upcoming session: the creation of a commission on the elaboration of a new Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Estonian SSR and on additions to constitutional legislation; the creation of an Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet commission on interethnic relations and changes in the composition of other standing commissions of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet; deputies' questions; the ratification of Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees and changes in the Russian-language text of the Estonian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law.)

A. Ryuytel informed members of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium about the course of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session which discussed the results of the extraordinary session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, and about the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium also discussed the letters containing proposals on additions and amendments to the USSR Constitution and on the elections of USSR people's deputies which were received during the nationwide discussion. In all more than

25,500 letters were received. The resolution adopted expresses gratitude to all people's deputies, labor collectives, collectives of educational establishments, social and independent organizations, people's movements, and all the citizens of Estonia who took part in the discussion of the draft laws.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium also examined awards, pardons, and other questions.

Lithuanian 'Unity' Movement Profiled

PM0612144788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 First Edition p 6

[Report by Major Yu. Rubtsov: "'Sajudis' and 'Unity': Instead or Together?"]

[Text] Vilnius, 2 Dec—The conversation was interrupted by a knock on the door.

"Filipovas," he introduced himself. "I have brought... I don't know what it is, an application or a complaint." Somewhat agitated, he handed to my interlocutor—"Unity" working group member V. Ivanov—a sheet of paper covered in writing. It transpired that he certainly did have something to be agitated about. Filopovas had taken a sick Polish relative to the hospital. They had turned him away at the door, so to speak, saying that there were no Russian-speaking doctors that day. They told him to come back the next day.

"We have been approached several times now by people whose rights have been infringed upon in one way or another," Valeriy Vasilyevich summed up. "People who speak something other than Lithuanian can be rebuffed by sales assistants and treated rudely on public transport; some people cannot stand it and are rude in return. We do not want to make too much of this, of course. We investigate everything carefully. But instances of unhealthy attitudes, ethnically motivated, are, alas, increasing. And people are turning to us at 'Unity'."

..."Venibe"—"Unity"—is the socialist movement for restructuring in Lithuania. How many readers know about this new social entity? Judging by letters and calls to the editor, not many. Indeed, readers, I admit that for some time I thought that the republic's inhabitants had given their hearts to "Sajudis." But it is all more complicated than that, apparently.

"Sajudis" does indeed wield considerable authority. It has a large band of supporters. But other informal associations are gradually coming into the picture, reflecting the specific interests of particular groups of the population. For instance, the Russian cultural center, the "Tkuma" society for Jewish national rebirth, and others. "Unity" is one of them. Its chief declared aim is to achieve a humane socialist society in the spirit of Leninist concepts. It was the wish of readers to know more about the new social entity in Lithuania that brought me to Ivanov.

I asked him:

"The declared aims of 'Sajudis' and 'Unity' are pretty similar. Was there any sense in setting up a new social structure?"

"What they say may be similar," Ivanov said. "But as for their actions... Wouldn't sensible people be wary about the recent actions of 'Sajudis,' bordering on extremism? And take the efforts, accompanied by fashionable slogans, to revive national self-awareness, drag dubious nationalist ideas across the pages of the press, and idealize the country's bourgeois past.

"'You particularly emphasize,' an activist says to me, 'that we do not need to agitate for "Unity." People will seek us out themselves.'"

Indeed, even our brief conversation was interrupted several times by visitors. I asked one of them, mechanic V. Karpushenkov, what had brought him there.

"There are 11 of us in the primary support group. We looked at 'Unity's' delaration. We decided we had to join. You cannot stand on the sidelines when there are people in the republic who are prepared to drown restructuring in rationalist slogans.... No, we have among us not only Russians, but Poles, Jews, and Lithuanians."

"I am Lithuanian,' pensioner Teofile Matskyavichene chimed in. "I was at one of 'Sajudis" first rallies. Nothing specific was said about enmity toward 'foreigners.' But there was such a stench of nationalism that I was totally bewildered. How could it be? After all, we are citizens of the same country. Our house was burned down in the war. We were forced to ask a kulak to take us in. He did not provide even a drop of milk for my sick child. But a Russian soldier, who helped us with resettlement, kept on bringing us food.... My son and I firmly decided that our place was here."

According to the working group's information, several tens of thousands of people have already opted for "Unity." Is that normal? Of course, unless we confine ourselves to mere verbal approval of socialist pluralism of opinions. Judging by the local press, however, some people have a distorted view of this normal phenomenon: Either you are a member of "Sajudis" or you are a "Lithuanian Stalinist." Who benefits, one wonders, from assessments that attempt to drive a wedge between the two most authoritative social formations in the republic?

"Believe me," V. Ivanov said, "we do not see polemics with 'Sajudis' as our main aim. We already have a vast amount of work to do. In conjunction with labor collectives' councils we will struggle to ensure that the working people's position in no way deteriorates in the course of economic transformations. Or take an issue that worries many people, including servicemen: will their children be able to obtain higher education in the republic if

teaching exclusively in Lithuanian is introduced? There is any number of similar questions that need to be solved. And they are of concern to various strata of the population."

Do the inhabitants of Lithuania need "Unity," as well as the other informal associations? The people themselves and only they have the right to answer this question. Many people have already made the choice. As for the consolidation of all strata of society on the basis of socialism and constructive dialogue, there is a most urgent need for them. The primer of democracy says that claims to have the only correct solution and intolerance of different views are of no assistance here.

Shevardnadze Addresses Foreign Ministry Personnel
LD1312225988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The practical tasks of the collective of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs in implementing the ideas and tenets contained in the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the United Nations Organization on 7 December were discussed today at a meeting of personnel of the USSR Foreign Ministry. A report was delivered at the meeting by Comrade Shevardnadze.

Prosecutor Asks Punishment in Churbanov Trial
LD1312214788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] TASS announcement: On 12 and 13 December in the USSR Supreme Court, the sides in the criminal case regarding former officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs began arguing the case. The defendants are accused of bribery on particularly large scales and using their offices for selfish purposes. The case is being examined by the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court, under the chairmanship of Justice Major General Marov, member of the USSR Supreme Court, deputy chairman of the Military Collegium.

The first to speak was Sboyev, the public prosecutor, assistant to the USSR prosecutor general. On the basis of an analysis of the evidence, he reconstructed the circumstances of the case, set forth his conclusions on the soundness of the charges made and the degree of culpability of the accused, described the role of each of them individually, and produced political, moral-ethical, and juridical assessments of their criminal actions. Comrade Sboyev requested discussion of the question of excluding from the charges those episodes which had been imputed to the defendants by the preliminary investigation bodies and which had not received indisputable confirmation in the course of the court hearing.

In consideration of what had been said, and on the strength of what had been committed, the public prosecutor asked for the following punishment:

Churbanov, former first deputy minister of internal affairs of the USSR; and Yakhyayev, former minister of internal affairs of Uzbekistan—15 years deprivation of liberty, to be served in an intense-regime corrective labor colony; Churbanov to serve the first 5 years in prison.

Kakhramanov, deputy minister of internal affairs of Uzbekistan—13 years deprivation of liberty.

Sabirov, head of the Internal Affairs Directorate of Khorezm Oblast Executive Committee; Norbutayev, head of the Internal Affairs Directorate of Kashka-Darya Oblast Executive Committee; Makhamadzhanov, head of the Internal Affairs Directorate of Namangan Oblast Executive Committee; and Norov, head of the Internal Affairs Directorate of Bukhara Oblast Executive Committee—10 years deprivation of liberty.

Dzhamalov, head of the Internal Affairs Directorate of Tashkent Oblast Executive Committee—7 years deprivation of liberty.

Begelman, deputy minister of internal affairs of Uzbekistan—6 years deprivation of liberty.

All to be served in intense-regime corrective labor colonies.

All to have their property confiscated.

The debates of the sides continues. After a brief break in the juridical session, the advocates will speak.

District Electoral Commissions Formed
LD1312235488 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—The first stage of the campaign to elect people's deputies of the USSR is now under way in the Soviet Union: the formation of district electoral commissions.

In every district the commission, which organises the holding of elections to the Soviet Union's supreme body of state power (the elections are scheduled for March 26, 1989), will consist of 11-17 members. Representatives to the district commissions are nominated by people at meetings at the places of work or residence.

This time the nomination of representatives is being conducted under the provisions of the new electoral law which was adopted by the Soviet parliament on December 1, this year. The nominating process is being held in a democratic manner, without "prompting from above" which was characteristic of the past. People themselves name those whom they trust to hold the elections.

In Leningrad, for example, the personnel of the Leningrad trading seaport nominated their representative, I. Suprun, a fitter, to the district electoral commission. His workmates refer to him as an honest and uncompromising person.

In Lithuania, each candidacy is thoroughly discussed at meetings. The people of the small resort town of Juodkrante nominated R. Andrusijavicius to the electoral commission. A young forester of the state forest park of Kursiu Neringa (Sandspit), he earned his prestige among the fellow countrymen through his exactingness and energetic social activities.

In Ryazan, central Russia, the personnel of the punched-card machine plant after a discussion of two candidacies, preferred to nominate A. Rezyatkin, a fitter, to the district electoral commission. He has been working at the plant for 20 years, and is well-known to many workers.

Representatives to district electoral commissions are being nominated in all the 15 Soviet Union republics. The process is expected to be completed, in the main, by the end of this month.

Orlov on Tasks of Central Electoral Commission

LD0712094288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As has already been announced, elections of people's deputies of the USSR are to take place on 26 March next year. The first meeting of the Central Electoral Commission on elections of people's deputies of the USSR was held today in the October Hall of the House of Unions in Moscow. Speaking at the meeting, Vladimir Pavlovich Orlov, chairman of the commission, talked about the main directions of its activities and about the tasks that it is to tackle. Describing the special features of the preparations for the present elections, he pointed out:

[Begin Orlov recording] [Words indistinct] about the elections. We shall have to ensure the conditions for the nomination of candidate deputies. It must be borne in mind that, for the first time, the right to nominate candidate deputies in our country has been given to gatherings of citizens according to their place of residence. There will be a new procedure for holding constituency electoral meetings, which are authorized to make decisions about the presentation for registration of the candidate deputies nominated. The law on elections establishes guarantees for the activities of the candidate people's deputies, from the Central Electoral Commission. In other words, it is, by and large, for us to see that those guarantees are observed in practice for each candidate deputy. [end recording]

It was noted at the meeting that all measures associated with the preparations for holding the elections must be effected on a democratic basis, openly and publicly, bearing in mind the multinational character of our country and the variety of the working people's demands and interests. The Central Electoral Commission has designated territorial and national-territorial constituencies for elections of people's deputies of the USSR.

The commission's decision and the lists of these constituencies are being published in the press. The agenda for the principal measures connected with preparing for and holding elections of people's deputies of the USSR has been confirmed, as has the plan for the work of the Central Electoral Commission in December.

Comrade Lukyanov took part in the work of the Central Electoral Commission. [video shows about 30 people seated around a table, one from the Russian Orthodox Church. Lukyanov can be seen, shots of Orlov speaking, intercut with further pictures of members of the commission]

*Mironenko Delivers Report to Komsomol Plenum

WA1800021488 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 88 pp 3-4

[Speech by V. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, at the Fourth Plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee: "On Further Democratization of Komsomol Life"]

[Text] Comrades!

We have work ahead of us to clear up certain issues in the life of the Komsomol in the context of the restructuring of Soviet society which is becoming more intensive.

The group created by decision of the Central Committee Bureau has done the preparatory work. Many members of central elective bodies of Komsomol took part in it. You have received the theses it prepared and information on the work of the Bureau and Secretariat of the Komsomol Central Committee. That is the basis for structuring discussion of the first and second items on the agenda.

The first item on the agenda is the work of the Bureau and Secretariat of the Komsomol Central Committee since the third plenum. It is no accident that it comes first and not last or next to last, as has been our custom. It would be a very good thing if this question ceased to be "routine" and aroused interest and discussion. That would help to place the work of the Bureau, the Secretariat, and the central headquarters staff under more substantial control of the Central Committee. This would make it possible to check the accuracy of the decisions they make and the actions they take. Finally, this would make it possible to see where we are each time and to rely on what has been done.

The Central Committee Bureau feels that every plenum should begin with the report on its work and the work of the Secretariat, and consequently also that of the headquarters staff of the Komsomol Central Committee and the editors of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

The second question put up for discussion is further democratization of Komsomol. We consider it the basic issue in this plenum. We have long wanted to go into it thoroughly.

The debate about better organization of life within the league and about the correct interpretation of the fundamental principles of Komsomol structure is still going on.

It would be a great and unforgivable error not to pay attention to the recommendations of Komsomol members engendered by the experience of practical participation in restructuring and the first successes and failures, however terrible they might seem at first.

In this complicated and crucial job which we have started, we need to follow the strict rule of starting from life and squaring every step with the experience and opinions of millions of Komsomol members.

For a rather long time our organization has lived not by the laws of democratic centralism, but rather by those of bureaucratic centralism. It will be a difficult job to get out of this condition and it probably will not be as fast as all of us would like.

A part of the road has been traveled since the 22d Komsomol Congress. We have felt that establishing a new and more democratic pattern of life within the league has faced us with the necessity of answering several questions which have to be dealt with before we can go forward.

First, we need to define the role, rights, and duties of the "grass roots" and the "center," review the procedure for forming elective Komsomol bodies, and grant them independence in shaping their own staff.

Second, to reduce the staff of the higher-level bodies of Komsomol leadership and strengthen the primary and rayon levels.

Third, radically restructure the system for training and retraining Komsomol personnel and instruction of the aktiv.

Fourth, intensify many times over the control which Komsomol members themselves have over the activity of elective bodies, their staffs, the money they spend, and so on.

Fifth, organize exchange of information between the "center" and the "grass roots" and exchange of experience among Komsomol organizations.

In dealing with these matters we will by and large be completing the development of new relations within the league in the framework of the Komsomol Bylaws now in effect. They need to be tested in operation.

We are far from thinking that they are perfect. But they have to be verified in practice for us to know exactly in what respect they are imperfect. And indeed the times, you will agree, have already been urgently demanding that we become more fundamentally concerned with practical affairs.

That opinion has been expressed by many Komsomol members. There is also another opinion. To be specific, a group of Komsomol members from Moscow and Leningrad, calling themselves the "democratic faction" in Komsomol, are proposing that the principal efforts be concentrated on continuing the discussion, on working out alternative conceptions, and on comparing the speculative constructions of mechanisms for life within the league. The Central Committee Bureau considers this proposal unacceptable.

Which, of course, does not mean that we should refrain from discussion of specific proposals, including those of these Komsomol members, including even those which do not fit within the limits of the bylaws. By no means. We will also be putting them up for discussion of the plenum in the so-called "idea bank," formed since the meeting of the political clubs. But the Bureau of the Komsomol Central Committee believes that in this area we can and should consult all the organizations. We also need to agree on the form that consultation should take.

The USSR State Committee for Public Education has proposed that the Komsomol Central Committee designate 25 persons to be delegates to the upcoming congress of public education personnel.

The Central Committee Bureau, expressing the hope that the organizing committee will support its proposal, proposes in fact that the nomination of our delegates be discussed. We might also deliberate in this connection our future actions in preparing for the congress.

In brief, those are the tasks of the plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee.

I. On What Has Been Done, and on Certain Specific Aspects of the Present Moment

First, about the most important event that has taken place in the months which have passed. That is the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Its political results have immense importance both for our entire society and also for young people. You will allow me not to comment on them. You are familiar with them. I would only like to say that thanks to the activity and persistence of Komsomol personnel chosen to attend the conference and the support of the CPSU Central Committee and other delegates the resolution of the conference included

demands for working out a strong integral policy toward young people and reestablishment of Leninist principles of the party guidance of Komsomol, and for its organizational independence to be respected and maintained.

Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, expressed an idea important to us about Komsomol's right to take part in working out the policy of the CPSU and about preparation of a plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the problems of young people.

This is a good foundation for the transition of the Komsomol Central Committee and Komsomol organizations to vigorous action in all spheres of the life of society, in carrying out restructuring, and to continue the democratization of Komsomol.

Neither youth policy, nor new relations between the party and Komsomol, nor democratization of the league will be born, develop, and gain strength in the calm atmosphere of offices, but rather in the everyday effort of primary Komsomol organizations. In our view, this is the fundamental position which needs to be backed up with the authority of the plenum of the Central Committee. M.S. Gorbachev in fact pointed us in that direction in a meeting with the youth of Moscow and Moscow Oblast on the 70th anniversary of Komsomol, when he particularly emphasized the need "every day...to solve practical problems so that our policy does not turn into fond wishes...."

On the whole, the 70th anniversary of Komsomol was celebrated without tiresome ostentation, previously unknown pages in the history of the league were open to view, and there were meetings with Komsomol veterans.

We tried to use the anniversary to demonstrate that we are not renouncing our history, our communist ideals, that we profoundly esteem what has been done by all the generations of Komsomol members and Komsomol officials. But we want to "receive fire from history, not ashes," we want to speak our minds and to do our own job.

The experience of restructuring will provide many examples of how young people can impart new things and their own energy and initiative to various spheres of life—whether we are talking about politics, the economy, scientific-technical progress, social welfare, education, or preservation of monuments, environmental protection, and the cultural legacy of the Soviet people in all its ethnic diversity. Komsomol organizations will quite often be learning from scratch to operate on the principles of independence and self-management.

Although on the whole the experience of the league's life has not been rosy at all. Distrust of the organization's capability, failure to understand the purpose of the rank and file in it, pessimism, perplexity in the face of the great diversity of opinions that suddenly emerged and in the face of the need to take a position on one's own—there has been all of that.

It is, of course, a pity. But we should understand that the work we have undertaken is such that we should not expect results this minute and immediate success. We have to be ready for a difficult and rather lengthy effort. That is not to everyone's liking, nor is everyone up to it.

New problems are arising, and many of those which yesterday we tried to overlook have not been solved. This should not frighten us. The main thing is not to avoid dealing with them. We need to be bolder and quicker, especially since there is movement in the ice beneath our feet, quite serious movement. There has been progress in the participation of Komsomol organizations in economic construction and in solving social problems, most of which are problems for young people. The government has passed a decree to promote the economic activity of Komsomol.

Let us speak frankly—we have not been understood by everyone. We have taken only the first steps, but already we have been accused of economism and of forgetting the organization's political character and its educative purposes. But we will do everything so that young people have an opportunity, wherever possible and necessary, to solve some of their problems on their own and to gain a field in which they are independent, including economic activity.

The activity of the All-Union MZhK [Youth Housing Complex] Center has been picking up pace. About a million people are already taking part in the movement. This year 75,000 people will get apartments in houses of the MZhK. This is our policy. Working together for 2 or 3 years and the collectivity that comes into being through that work are the best education. Some 500 NTTM [scientific-technical creativity of young people] centers have created in the country. The value of contracts they have concluded for 1988 exceeds 850 million rubles. The information and exhibition center of the Komsomol Central Committee was recently created and serves as an intermediary for all NTTM centers. A new journal UMELETS has begun publication.

The staffs of the Central Committee at the All-Union Komsomol Crash Construction Project are learning to work according to the new principles. Komsomol has become involved in popularizing and disseminating the leasing of land in agriculture. An initiative of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, supported by Komsomol committees, has helped many young families to begin a new life in the oblasts of the Nonchernozem Zone of RSFSR. Villages are coming to life. The Komsomol Central Committee has taken the initiative to radically improve the production of children's toys.

The Youth Press Festival in Tbilisi and the All-Union Meeting of Youth Political Clubs in Moscow were landmarks along the road of Komsomol's return from political twaddle to real political work.

We were sincerely gratified by the proposal of five Komsomol officials at various levels to meet in Surgut with the help of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and SOBESEDNIK. The destiny of Komsomol is being decided not only in Moscow and not only, and perhaps not so much, in the Central Committee, as in each of the raykoms. It is the view of restructuring in Komsomol that one gets from the raykom, from the primary level, that we need today as we need air to breath.

The All-Union Youth Aerospace Association has been formed. More attention is being paid to the needs of internationalists who have served in the armed forces. They themselves are taking an energetic position in restructuring. It is a question of creating an association of military-patriotic associations. The Komsomol Central Committee considers it its duty to be concerned about the wounded, about fighting men who have been disabled, about the families of those who were killed. We have managed to do something in this regard, there is still more to be done.

Conditions have been created for the participation of students in the management of their educational institutions. Preparations are being made for the All-Union University Student Forum. The basic directions for restructuring the activity of the All-Union Pioneer Organization imeni V.I. Lenin have been presented for discussion, and a commission of the Komsomol Central Committee has prepared proposals for the congress of public education personnel.

Here I have been talking more about what has been done, so to speak, "at the top," in the Central Committee or on the initiative of the Komsomol Central Committee. What has the Central Committee not done? I think it would be better for comrades from the grass roots to speak about that. The person who is detached sees more.

I would only say that the Central Committee has not been issuing commands, and has not been imposing the forms and methods of work on the organizations. I think that this has helped greatly in making the life of Komsomol organizations more varied. That is certainly a "plus." But probably the main "minus" is that the Central Committee and many Komsomol committees have been carried away with the revamping of structures, with their own initiatives, and they have clearly paid less attention to the primary organizations. Our central newspaper also suffers from this.

It must become an unalterable law for any Komsomol committee to check every decision they make and every initiative against what this will bring to primary organizations and how they will respond to it.

In concluding this discussion of certain results in the work of the Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee and the particular aspects of the moment we are living in, we need to speak about something which is surely disturbing us all today.

In past years and decades, problems have accumulated in our country's interethnic relations. People, young people, are disturbed about this. That is understandable.

Komsomol has always operated from consistently internationalist positions. Respect for ethnic dignity, for the aspiration of every nationality and ethnic minority to preserve the identity of its culture in the young generation—we firmly stand on those positions and we will never abandon them. That would mean death to the multinational league of young people.

We cannot look with indifference on the manifestations of ethnic arrogance and narrow-mindedness which have recently become more frequent, regardless of their origin.

The plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee must turn the attention of all Komsomol organizations to the danger that threatens young people of becoming infected with chauvinism and nationalism. That is a potentially fatal disease.

Every attempt to disseminate ethnic enmity, every offense to ethnic dignity, even the slightest danger of a split in an organization along ethnic lines must be immediately evaluated in accordance with principle.

Since these matters have become exacerbated, and frequent appeals have been made to the Komsomol Central Committee by Komsomol members and young people concerning the problems of interethnic relations, they should probably be turned over for consideration to the standing conference of first secretaries of the Komsomol central committees of all the union and autonomous republics, oblasts, and national okrugs, who could if necessary make recommendations to the plenum and to the Central Committee Bureau. The first conference could be held without delay, immediately following the plenum of the Central Committee.

II. On Komsomol Participation in Reform of the Political System of Society

Draft versions of the Law on Amendments and Supplements to the USSR Constitution and the Law on Election of People's Deputies of the USSR have been put up for nationwide discussion.

In the opinion of the Bureau of the Komsomol Central Committee, they are in line with the political principles of the party conference and open up new opportunities for the work of Komsomol in the supreme body of government power.

1. On Election of People's Deputies of the USSR

On the one hand, we have ahead of us the entire effort of elections in geographic and ethnic-geographic election districts, and on the other, elections of people's deputies of the USSR by Komsomol directly.

For the first time, Komsomol will have the opportunity to elect its own direct representatives to the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

What would we like to call attention to in this connection?

We must achieve broad representation of Komsomol members and young people in the supreme body of the country's government. We have to nominate our candidates, extend them every kind of aid in preparing their campaign programs, and organize meetings with voters.

We need to wage a campaign in support of young candidates for deputy. We have very great opportunities here: from the Komsomol press to the election rally and caucus, fliers or posters in the election district.

The draft of the Law on Election of People's Deputies of the USSR calls for election of 75 deputies by Komsomol directly.

In our opinion, the group of people's deputies of the USSR elected by Komsomol must try to unify all young people's deputies, and the staff of the Central Committee will help it to do that. The solving of the problems of young people at the state level will depend largely on its makeup, its position, and its vigor.

2. What Will We Take With Us to the Elections?

Young people have a right to expect of Komsomol deputies and deputies supported by Komsomol and young people, first, support of restructuring, and second, that in the soviets they will be transmitters of the vitally important interests of young people.

There are a great number of problems in this area, and these are not problems of young people, but of our entire society.

Sociological research shows that only one-third of young workers are in good financial condition at the present time. The average income per person in a young family is 70-80 rubles per month. The young person is unable to buy decent clothing with what he makes. Two-thirds of young workers are living in dormitories or renting part of a room. The state of many dormitories is pitiable. The rent for part of a room is considerably higher than the rent for the apartment with all the parts of all the rooms. The young family can count on a separate apartment only after 12-15 years.

The succession of generations is going slowly in such spheres as science, culture, and administration. Personnel "thrombi" in these areas are already threatening "heart attacks to creativity." Young people, just like the society as a whole, are vitally interested in radical renewal of the system of higher and secondary education, in protection of educational institutions from administrative tyranny and incompetent intervention.

The difficulties of carrying out the economic reform are raising the question of protecting young people against the technocratic approach and the pursuit of profit at any price. It is no secret that prices are rising and inexpensive goods for which there is volume demand are disappearing.

In freeing themselves of a surplus of manpower, enterprises, institutions, and cooperatives are displacing young people, new people who are inexperienced in production, and they are ceasing to be concerned about training personnel. At the same time, there is a drain of able specialists from state enterprises and institutions into cooperatives out of financial considerations.

The concern about young people and the young family unable to support themselves by their work is a burden on their parents.

This is only a fleeting and far from complete list of the problems to which solutions have to be sought and found by the Komsomol-deputies both in the supreme body of the country's government and also at the level of the local, settlement, and rural soviet.

In undertaking this effort, which is by no means simple, we need to free ourselves of the illusion that these problems can be solved separately from performance of the main task—consistently carrying out the economic reform, or thanks to other social groups. It is not benefits which young people need, although for some categories of young people—those who are studying, young families, creative young people, and those who have resettled—they are indispensable. Young people have an interest in the economic reform that is thorough and consistent and affords the possibility of working according to their abilities and receiving enough to live on from their labor.

We also need to define and to tick off, so to speak, the tactical questions of the election campaign.

First, we need to strive to form a unified body with young people who do not belong to the league, with informal associations, and so on. This, of course, will not mean departing from the political line of the party worked out by the 19th party conference.

Second, the candidates nominated by Komsomol organizations and young people must present programs in the election campaign that take into account not only the interests of young people, but also those of other social groups of voters, in other words—the interests of the entire people.

Finally, we surely should not refuse to support a candidate for deputy solely on grounds of age or membership in Komsomol. If a candidate is ready to take into account the interests of young people and feels responsibility to young voters—we should vote for him.

Our election program is very simple and clear in its most general form. Komsomol favors full sovereignty of the soviet, continuation and deepening of restructuring, and full recovery of the Leninist conception of socialism, worthy representation of the interests of young people in the soviets, respect for their interests, and the opportunity to take part in dealing with all the problems in the life of society.

3. On Discussion Throughout Komsomol

Definition of the position of Komsomol in the elections to soviets requires broad discussion as to detail within Komsomol. We need to consult once again on the most important questions that exist within the league.

The Bureau of the Komsomol Central Committee proposes holding a discussion throughout Komsomol. Its main purpose would be to analyze performance of the decisions of the congress, progress in restructuring within Komsomol and its next tasks, definition of the main directions for the activity of Komsomol organizations, the preparation of instructions to be given to people's deputies elected by Komsomol.

The discussion might be held in January-February 1989 in open Komsomol assemblies in primary organizations in which young people would participate who do not belong to the league.

The relevant theses of the Komsomol Central Committee might be proposed as a possible basis for discussion. A commission that would be instructed to prepare a draft of the theses might be formed in our plenum from among members of central elected bodies of Komsomol.

The theses would be discussed in a plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee in January 1989 and published in the central and local Komsomol press.

Reports might be made on the work done since the 22d Komsomol Congress in the course of discussion, in the plenums of raykoms, gorkoms, obkoms, and kraykoms of Komsomol, Komsomol central committees of the union republics and bureaus of those committees.

The results might be summarized by mid-March 1989 in a plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee, whose decisions would also constitute instructions for the people's deputies of the USSR elected by Komsomol in this plenum.

This entire effort might become the first step in working out a strong and integral government policy toward young people.

It would result in definition of the main goals of Komsomol and means of achieving them and the development of a government youth policy, which would be a kind of minimum program of Komsomol for coming years.

There are two fundamental points which we need to identify here and now.

First, the legal basis has to be laid for government youth policy, preparation of the draft of the Law on Young People has to be completed, and after the nationwide discussion, exercising the right of legislative initiative, the Komsomol Central Committee should submit it for consideration to the Congress of People's Deputies or USSR Supreme Soviet. In that connection, it would be advisable to prepare recommendations for appropriate amendments to be made in the USSR Constitution.

Second, we must show persistence and devotion to principle in drafting the plans for the socioeconomic development of the country and regions, to see that Komsomol organizations take part in preparing them and that they reflect specific measures to solve the problems of young people. It is especially important to do this on long-range matters in the process of preparing plans for the next 5-year planning period.

Third, we should think even now about mechanisms for drafting and carrying out the policy toward young people in government agencies.

These would preferably be small structures for social development in the Bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers and the state committees for planning and statistics.

The Commission for Youth Affairs of the USSR Supreme Soviet might take responsibility for coordinating their work.

A most important condition for the success of restructuring in Komsomol and its renewal is to change the style of party leadership of Komsomol organizations in the spirit of the demands of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

So far the command style and lack of attention to the problems of young people, and petty meddling have persisted in the practice of many party committees.

We have heard quite a few complaints in this connection from Komsomol committees at various levels, and we heard more at the last meeting of Komsomol raykom secretaries. The position of the CPSU Central Committee has been defined on the question of party leadership of Komsomol. It is that party committees "must show in deeds full political trust of young people, must change the very type of relations with young people...must respect and observe the organizational independence of Komsomol, its right to independently decide all matters of its internal life without exception, and take part in preparing and carrying out the policy of the party...."

This position will not become established in reality all by itself. It has to be fought for both by party members working in Komsomol and by Komsomol members. Reality demonstrates that they will encounter many people of like mind even in party organizations.

They are now conducting their report and election campaign. Today, we cannot imagine kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon party conferences without an exacting analysis of the state of leadership of Komsomol and of party influence on young people. Much depends here on the position taken by Komsomol officials elected as delegates to the conferences.

4. On Drafting the Komsomol Program

You know, comrades, that this question is not arising for the first time; there has been a keen debate over it in recent decades.

Advocates of adoption of a new Komsomol program argue their case by saying that the bylaws offer no opportunity to set forth in detail principles on the place of Komsomol as an independent sociopolitical organization in society, its relations with the party, with government organizations, and with public organizations, nor to formulate programmatic goals and tasks and the directions of activity.

There is also another opinion, based on the idea that there is no need to adopt a Komsomol program, since Komsomol guides its entire activity toward carrying out the CPSU Program.

The proposals of the Central Committee Bureau in this connection have been set forth above. We might only add that we have by no means exhausted the programmatic principles set forth by the 22d Komsomol Congress. The main thing now seems to be to fully realize all the constructive ideas embodied in the decisions of the congress.

Preparation of theses of the Komsomol Central Committee and their discussion within Komsomol will show us how ready we are to work out an action program that on the one hand would be sufficiently specific so as not to turn into a policy declaration and a commonplace. While on the other it would be sufficiently broad so as not to restrict the spontaneous activity of the organizations themselves.

It would seem that participants in the plenum and Komsomol organizations would support these proposals.

III. On Further Democratization of the Internal Life of Komsomol

The course of deepening the democratic spirit of Komsomol life was defined at the 20th Komsomol Congress. It seems by all appearances that by no means everyone has understood the nature of this. Democratization is not for us something fashionable, not simply improvement of relations within the league, but an indispensable condition for the involvement of all Komsomol members in management of affairs within the league so as to overcome their alienation from their own league.

Over the last 1.5 years since the congress quite a bit has been done in that direction. Komsomol organizations are independent in choosing the forms and methods of their work. New normative documents have been drafted to lay the basis for more democratic relations within the league. No one is any longer surprised by the nomination of multiple candidates and competitive elections of secretaries. A new procedure is being adopted for financial and economic activity in Komsomol.

Today, nothing stands in the way of a primary organization if it wants to establish a youth center, a political club, or an association of amateurs. No one infringes on the right of Komsomol members to independently decide who they want to enroll in our league.

Democratization is changing Komsomol life; quite a few examples could be given of this. Still the new democratic standards are having a hard time getting applied in practice. The elected bodies still have not become authentic working bodies. There are signs of the habit of the bodies of leadership to issue commands to primary organizations.

At present, we are still encountering at every step recurrences of bureaucratic centralism and formalism in Komsomol.

For example, at the Fifth Plenum of the Kirovskiy Komsomol Raykom in Kemerovo Oblast decisions were made on the most important matters on the agenda, including organizational matters, when 14 out of the 60 members of the raykom took part.

What kind of democratic approach can we speak of, for example, in the work of the Sverdlovskiy Komsomol Raykom in Belgorod Oblast when the schedule of the report and election campaign was approved without clearing it with primary organizations?

The level of civility in discussions remains extremely low. Often democracy goes no further than a rally, Komsomol members are distracted from practical efforts to never ending discussions. Some Komsomol officials and members are far more interested in the very process of "gaining" rights than actually using them.

Quite often, consistent democratization is confused with anarchy, with license, with collapse of the foundations of organization, and with complete rejection of discipline. The Bureau of the Komsomol Central Committee considers a thorough and substantive discussion of further democratization of our league to be indispensable.

1. On the Structural Principles of Komsomol

Proposals have been made concerning the possibility of creating organizations according to the interests of young people in addition to the primary Komsomol organizations by workplace.

Groups of Komsomol members created on this principle would have their advantages. The main thing is that they would organize themselves from the outset around some very specific objective, some common interest.

The Komsomol Bylaws permit the creation of temporary Komsomol organizations in Komsomol-youth work associations, youth dormitories, and other associations on the basis of specific interest. To be sure, ad hoc organizations do not have the rights of a primary Komsomol organization. They do not have the right to enroll members in Komsomol and expel members from Komsomol, to recommend members for party membership, to use dues and carry on financial and economic activity, nor can they make nominations to elective bodies. In our view, it is this and also the dissatisfaction with the work of our Komsomol organization that explains the numerous proposals for revision of the principles governing the organizational structure.

But while we see the advantages, we cannot close our eyes to the instability of such collectives. They might well supplement the structure of the league and make it more flexible, but they cannot be its foundation. Consequently, while preserving the primary organization created by workplace as the foundation, we need to undertake to increase the number and expand the rights of ad hoc Komsomol organizations wherever this is necessary. We might order the Central Committee Bureau to decide this question.

Today, in discussions about restructuring of Komsomol we quite often hear terms like these: "federalism," "federal system." Everyone imparts his own meaning to them, but this is what it usually means.

In the first case, proposals are made to transform Komsomol into a federation of entirely independent republic youth leagues. In the second, it would be a federation of leagues or association by social categories or occupations.

These proposals are not new. They have repeatedly arisen in various stages of the league's life, beginning with the first and second congresses, and they have been invariably rejected after heated discussion.

The objective of these transformations is attractive on the outside—expanded independence of Komsomol organizations, the possibility of structuring their work so as to take into account specific local conditions or the specific nature of the interests of particular categories of young people.

But all of this can be fully achieved without losing the immense advantage of having a unified youth organization that possesses enough political clout and financial and organizational capabilities to solve major political, social, and cultural problems which are equally significant to workers, to university students, to peasants, and to young intellectuals or secondary school students throughout the entire country.

Nor should we overlook the international aspect of the matter. Komsomol enjoys great influence in the international youth movement as the unified organization of an immense country.

There is a danger of "throwing out the baby"—the Leninist idea of a unified communist youth league—with the "bath water" of bureaucratic centralism. Instead of a real search for equilibrium between unity and independence in dealing with local or specific matters, they are attempting to pass off on us the old federal principle whose rejection our league began with in 1918.

Not a federation on the ethnic or occupational principle, but a resolute expansion of the independence of the Komsomols of the union republics, kray and oblast Komsomol organizations in dealing with all questions except those which have been placed in the exclusive jurisdiction of the center: primary organizations with full-fledged rights, pooling their efforts if necessary within the rayon, the city, the oblast, or even the country in order to express the specific interests of one of the categories of young people—that is what we should strive for. It is not the laying down of ethnic or social boundaries that we should aim at, but the unification of all detachments of Leninist Komsomol and young people who do not belong to the league in the fight for renewal of society. We must decide this question today—definitively and firmly. This is the unanimous opinion of the Central Committee Bureau.

2. On Governing Bodies of Komsomol

Competitive elections, the secret ballot, renewal of the membership—these fundamental provisions of the Komsomol Bylaws and the new instruction on elections have proved to be viable.

But often the changes taking place in this direction in governing bodies are still halfway measures and are not free of residual elements of the administrative-command system. There is an obvious need to continue to look for new approaches to forming elective bodies.

For example, in a number of Komsomol organizations in Moscow nominations to the Komsomol committee are made for specific tasks of the Komsomol organization when the candidates have a program to perform those tasks. The search in this direction is being conducted in other organizations of the country as well.

One possible way of forming elective bodies has been set forth in more detail in the theses of the Komsomol Central Committee which you have had an opportunity to examine.

The essence of it is that part of the committee is formed on the basis of recommendations of the old members of the committee. A portion of the committee is elected in lower-level Komsomol organizations. A portion of the committee is elected by various councils and other structures associated with the Komsomol committee, representing individual groups of Komsomol members or lines of Komsomol activity.

The distinguishing feature of this approach is the principle of delegating the right to elect members of the Komsomol committee to the lower-level Komsomol organizations and structures associated with committees.

Nor should we reject the existing practice of forming the Komsomol committee in a congress or conference, provided the organization is fully independent in choosing its delegates and it is granted the right at the same time to recommend candidates for election to the higher Komsomol committee and, of course, to demand their recall if necessary.

Nominations may be made according to approximately the same scheme as in the first version proposed, except that the congress would still have the last word. From the standpoint of the Komsomol Bylaws and the rights of the supreme body of the league, this would be more correct.

There surely could be other versions as well. They all need to be studied. The main thing is, first, to guarantee the election of worthy party members and Komsomol members in an atmosphere of glasnost, freedom to criticize, and freedom of expression of the members of the organization which they will represent.

Second, establish a strong bond between those elected to higher Komsomol committees and their organizations and their authentic accountability to those organizations.

And third, guarantee the concerted effort of the entire elective body to carry out the decisions of the congress or conference as well as its continuity and consistency.

Solving these problems involves substantial changes in the Komsomol Bylaws and thorough verification in practice—from the primary organization to the oblast level.

The Bureau of the Komsomol Central Committee proposes that the proposals that are already in existence be discussed in the plenum and with its consent that they be included in the theses of the Komsomol Central Committee for consultation with all the organizations. After the discussion this question will be taken up again. A decision would be made in the plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee to hold elections according to the new procedure in all primary, rayon, city, oblast, and kray organizations or in those wishing to conduct them in that manner even in the autumn of 1989, and in the light of the experience gained, formation of the Komsomol Central Committee according to the new principle would be undertaken for the next congress, the 21st.

3. On Komsomol Discipline and Democracy

Quite often doubt is cast on the need for strict Komsomol discipline, for subordination of the "minority to the majority." Observance of this rule, some Komsomol members feel, takes away the right to take risks, to show initiative, and to experiment, and it is holding back rejection of the outdated forms and methods of work and stereotypes in thinking.

As far as discipline is concerned, there are no two ways of thinking about it. Discipline is necessary. There is no democracy without discipline. Denial of discipline is a natural reaction to a distorted understanding of it, when everything is reduced to the requirement of blind submission to orders from above.

As for the relation between the "majority" and the "minority," it is the right of the "minority" to become the "majority." That is the key to understanding this altogether democratic principle. The right of the "minority" to freely express its point of view, to defend it openly, and to convince others must be guaranteed. Which implies the right to criticize the decision is made, but not exemption from the duty of carrying it out if it has been made democratically in full conformity with the bylaws.

There are also those who consider it undemocratic for the decisions of higher-level bodies of Komsomol to be binding on those at the lower level. Here again the issue is not so much in the principle itself as in the present practice of implementing it.

We are constantly confronted by Komsomol committees and their bureaus taking decisions without taking account, without consultation with the organizations, without taking into account the possibility of their being carried out.

The main thing here is to achieve conformity of the decisions made by Komsomol committees with the right of Komsomol organizations to independence in choosing the forms and methods of their implementation and to always take into account where the center's role ends and the rights of organizations begin. At present, they are taking practically no advantage of their right to appeal unwarranted decisions.

These matters are in need of better treatment and definition in the Komsomol Bylaws. As far as the Komsomol Central Committee is concerned, we can reach agreement today about approval of the most important decisions of its Bureau concerning all of Komsomol in plenums of the Komsomol Central Committee. First, this would obviously result in more thorough selection of problems deserving attention of all of Komsomol, and second, there would be less risk of hasty conclusions and decisions.

It is difficult to imagine democratization and Komsomol without the Komsomol press, without objective coverage by the news media of the positions and actions of Komsomol committees, of the opinion of rank-and-file Komsomol members, the Komsomol aktiv, Komsomol officials, and journalists about youth problems and ways of solving them.

Disputes have been arising again and again between journalists of Komsomol publications on the one hand and Komsomol officials on the other. Sometimes one group is in the right, at other times the other group.

Such disputes are surely inevitable. If agreement cannot be found, a decision is up to the plenum of the respective Komsomol committee. Nor is it precluded to address the superior Komsomol body, all the way to the Komsomol Central Committee, which, incidentally, is often done in fact.

The main thing is to remember that we are all working in the same cause and the interests of the cause itself are above all else.

And finally. A Komsomol referendum might be conducted and innovations made without waiting for the next congress in order to resolve particular major problems concerning all of Komsomol and arising between congresses and not suffering postponement. The procedure for putting issues to a referendum and for conducting the referendum could be worked out and discussed during the upcoming discussion.

4. The Powers of Komsomol Bodies at Various Levels in the Context of Decentralization of Administration

It is obvious that unless the procedure of administration is changed, under the new conditions the Komsomol body will begin to hold back development of spontaneous activity from below. The Bureau of the Komsomol Central Committee has taken up the question of what the Brovary Komsomol Gorkom in the Ukraine has done concerning guidance of primary Komsomol organizations in the context of democratization of work within the league.

In the Brovary Komsomol Gorkom, attention is concentrated on issues that have to do with legislative initiative, the summarization and dissemination of experience, the training of personnel and the aktiv, analysis of the effectiveness of work done at the local level, and the rendering of practical help to the primary organization and aid as to methods.

This has afforded the possibility of guaranteeing a comparatively high level of independence of primary organizations. The absence of petty meddling "from above" gives them the opportunity to perform their own specific tasks. They accomplish this through councils of work collectives, teacher councils, school councils, creation of youth funds, the issuance of "youth orders," and so on.

Relations of this kind with Komsomol organizations must be established in Komsomol committees at all levels. It will not be a simple matter to work them out and even less to make them the law of life within the league. They cannot be established by decree.

Relations of that kind must grow in the course of operations, when every administrative decision must promote the display and development of independence, independence of the lower-level committee and organization. Every step from above signifies additional opportunities from below. If that state of affairs is to be achieved, there is yet another key issue that has to be taken up and decided.

5. Planning the Work of the Komsomol Central Committee

Even a superficial analysis of fulfillment of the work plan of the Komsomol Central Committee indicates that the planning system does not meet present-day requirements at all.

Today, initiative for including particular items in the plan resides in departments of the Central Committee, which, since they are detached from real life, quite often propose far-fetched measures or those which have been traditionally carried out and carried over from year to year.

The result is that the staff headquarters of the Central Committee works as though for itself, issuing its own work assignments.

New commissions of the Central Committee have been created to help draw up the work plans and define priorities in solving problems. Experience shows that they have been only reviewing the plan and making slight corrections.

It seems to me that we ought to radically alter the system for planning the work of the Bureau and Secretariat of the Komsomol Central Committee and its staff.

First, we should propose to Komsomol committees that they express their own views concerning the plan of the Central Committee. The departments of the Komsomol Central Committee and editorial staffs of newspapers and journals might make their proposals.

Second, a joint session of the commission for youth initiatives and the planning commission would thoroughly analyze the proposals, eliminate what is superfluous, irrelevant, or a mere formality, and issue its conclusion.

Third, after a preliminary reckoning (rough approximation) of the resources necessary to carry out the proposed range of measures, the draft plan would be taken up in the financial and budget commission of the Central Committee. And only then would it be presented to the Bureau of the Komsomol Central Committee for approval.

6. Improvement of the Supply of Information in Komsomol

With the information on young people and Komsomol we possess today it is difficult to make an astute decision and impossible to construct any youth policy.

Today, we neither have the volume, nor content, nor use of information that suit us. These and other considerations have been set forth more thoroughly in the draft of the document entitled "On Improvement of the Supply of Information in Komsomol." Briefly—the gist is to carry out a program to modernize the information effort in Komsomol, including concentration of all sources of information, its thorough and scientific processing, the creation of an integrated database, the transition to automated data processing and creation of "Komsomol" ASOI [automated system for data collection and processing], creation of an extensive network of information subscribers, use of sociological research, expanded connections among Komsomol organizations to regularize and speed up exchange of experience in restructuring. This program presupposes creation of an information center in the Komsomol Central Committee and corresponding departments in the Komsomol committees. If you support these proposals, the information center will be created in the course of the upcoming reorganization of the structure of the staff of the Central Committee, and both the Central Committee and local Komsomol committees and the news media can take advantage of its services.

7. On Financial Independence

A movement has begun toward greater independence of the organizations in the use of resources, and committees are being given broader opportunities to support and carry out initiatives of young people.

But the problem still has not been solved. The restructuring of financial and economic activity has hardly touched most primary Komsomol organizations. So far they have not become more independent from the financial standpoint. Less than 20 percent of the resources is left to them. The issue of the use of money is more and more becoming a political issue rather than an economic issue. It has to be resolved and decided in favor of the primary organizations. The question is how to do it.

In many primary Komsomol organizations, the collection of Komsomol membership dues, which is the principal source of income, is insufficient even to support the fulltime secretaries of these organizations. This is especially pronounced in rural and secondary school Komsomol organizations.

"Should some Komsomol organizations share resources with others?" "What should our dues be used for?" These questions, which have resounded in the discussions, demand an answer.

The opinion of Komsomol members that their Komsomol dues largely go to finance the staff of Komsomol officials, although greatly exaggerated, is not without basis. But it needs to be borne in mind that nearly 95 percent of all Komsomol officials work in primary organizations, gorkoms, and raykoms. The upcoming improvement of the structure of Komsomol bodies presupposes an increase in that share offset by a decrease in officials of the staffs of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, the Komsomol Central Committee's of the union republics, and Komsomol kraykoms and obkoms. I would also like to say that the idea about the oversized staffs of Komsomol does not correspond to reality. Staffs can and need to be reduced in the central headquarters, kraykoms, and obkoms. There will be less paper shuffling. There is a shortage of personnel at the rayon level. Not even to mention the primary organizations.

I think the point here is not the number of officials, but what they spend their time doing.

There is another popular opinion that does not correspond to reality: that Komsomol officials are a privileged group "rolling in milk and honey," not bothering itself with too much work. This is at best a well-meaning mistake, and at worst a deliberate lie.

Anyone who has worked even a month in Komsomol knows that this is usually work without days off, a 12-15-hour day, involving constant jitters and no opportunity to feel the results of one's work. The average salary of the Komsomol official is less than 170 rubles per month.

Now about the Komsomol Central Committee. Expenditures for programs and support are entirely covered from revenue from the economic activity of its enterprises and publications. The centralized fund from which grants are given to republic, kray, and oblast Komsomol organizations comes 80 percent from the income of enterprises and publications of the Komsomol Central Committee, and only one-fifth from the contributions of other Komsomol organizations.

The rates of the contributions, just like the size of the grant to each republic, kray, and oblast Komsomol organization, are established after discussion and a decision by the financial and economic commission of the Komsomol Central Committee.

We all know this, but Komsomol members do not know it and this offers a pretext for unwarranted suspicions and speculation.

The time came long ago to make the transition to open discussion and approval of the Komsomol budget in plenums of the Komsomol Central Committee. That could begin in the coming year.

As for distribution of resources within republic, kray, and oblast organizations, under the Regulation on Komsomol Money Resources, this is done by the elected bodies of those organizations independently. This also must be done openly, with participation of representatives of all organizations, above all those of them which are supplying the resources to subsidize others.

So that there will be more resources in primary organizations, we need to increase their proceeds not only from dues, but also from other sources.

So as to stimulate an additional inflow of resources, more stable rates of contributions to higher-level bodies should be fixed for primary organizations, and it would also be advisable to leave at their disposition resources which they earn on Saturdays, proceeds they receive from the funds for social welfare and cultural programs of enterprises, from work on contract and other earmarked proceeds. Some part of these essentially supplemental resources might be centralized only with consent of the organizations themselves.

At the same time, expenditures have to be cut and additional sources have to be sought for financing activity at the level of the raykom, gorkom, and obkom, including resources from creating an extensive network of cost-accounting youth centers, computer clubs, staffs of youth work associations, and other enterprises.

Even in the first stage of improving the financial and economic activity of Komsomol committees, expenditures should be established in sum certain necessary to maintain staffs and carry out the measures of higher-level Komsomol committees.

These and other measures which will be prompted by the new practice can make the procedure for distribution of resources in Komsomol more democratic and fair.

The grant allocated from the Komsomol budget to republic, kray, and oblast Komsomol organizations results in many cases from the geographic and socioeconomic peculiarities of particular regions. One thing is clear that over the short run the subsidy fund both at the level of the All-Union Komsomol and at the level of the republics, krays, and oblasts, and indeed even cities and rayons, will be indispensable.

This problem was recently discussed in the Komsomol Central Committee, and first secretaries participated. It was proposed that in order to bolster the budget and bring Komsomol organizations to the point of operating without a subsidy the drafting of specific programs would be undertaken to strengthen the material and financial base of each region. Following adoption of the government decree entitled "On Assistance in the Economic Activity of All-Union Komsomol," the realism of performing this task is beyond dispute.

We also have to reexamine the structure for administration of the economic complex of Komsomol and make it more receptive to various initiatives from young people. Interesting proposals along those lines have been worked out by the Latvian Komsomol Central Committee, the Magadan Obkom, and other Komsomol committees. The Komsomol Central Committee is working on the question of setting up a youth bank, which might become a source of "start-up capital" for new Komsomol enterprises, could finance social welfare initiatives, and replenish the revenues of the Komsomol budget.

Returning to the question of the so-called "economization" of Komsomol activity, here is something we might add. These fears should not be rejected out of hand. Excessive fascination with commercial and economic activity is quite possible. Here, like everywhere else, we need a sense of proportion, and understanding that we will not solve the socioeconomic problems of

young people on our own and that we will not replace the country's economy with a "Komsomol economy." This activity of Komsomol, like any other, must be entirely subordinated to the performance of the main tasks—strengthening the prestige and influence of Komsomol among young people, supplying young people with the possibility of pursuing their own initiatives, of testing themselves in action, which could in fact become a significant factor in economic development.

8. On the Structure of the Staffs of the Komsomol Central Committee and Komsomol Committees

We have not been in a hurry about this. And we acted properly. Now restructuring in Komsomol has itself brought us to understand the need for and the character of changes in the structure of Komsomol staffs and to the creation of a more effective and less cumbersome administrative apparatus and to its debureaucratization.

We are proposing reduction of the number of departments in the staff of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee. Following a serious reassessment of functions and structure, we would retain the Organizational Department and Propaganda Department. We would form a new department for socioeconomic problems of young people and a department for international relations. It is evident that we cannot do without the subdivisions that now exist and which specifically support the work of the Komsomol Central Committee and its staff.

Those subdivisions might be supervised, as was earlier the case, by the Secretariat of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee.

The activity of these departments must be supplemented by various voluntary structures. For example, the staff headquarters of university student detachments, the Council of Young Scientists and Specialists, the Council of Creative Young People, the Council for Coordinating Scientific Research Into Youth Problems, the All-Union Center for MZhK, and so on. Their number will obviously increase. Their makeup will change. They must help the Komsomol Central Committee to give greater appreciation in its work to the specific nature of various categories of young people and not to lose sight of major lines of activity of Komsomol.

Organizing the structure according to this principle will take some time, including the time to create the voluntary structures. In view of that, it is proposed that the structure of the staff of the Komsomol Central Committee retain for the present those departments concerned with the affairs of education and organization of the leisure time of young people.

Reorganizing the staff of the Komsomol Central Committee will make it possible to gradually reduce its size by at least 30 percent. Counting the first stage that has already taken place, the total reduction of the staff of the Central Committee will be more than 40 percent.

We have also been talking with all the republic, kray, and oblast committees about reorganizing their structures. In our view, the Komsomol Central Committee should at present retain for itself only establishment of the wage fund of staff personnel of the Komsomol central committees of the union republics, kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms of Komsomol, as well as the maximum salaries depending on the category of the Komsomol organization. In all other matters, Komsomol committees would be given full independence.

In this connection, agreement should evidently be reached in the plenum about the functions common to all Komsomol committees, and these would also dictate common structural elements. Experience shows that regardless of the specific nature of the Komsomol central committees of the union republics, kraykoms, and obkoms of Komsomol it is advisable to have a secretariat, subdivisions concerned with ideological and organizational work, and also subdivisions performing financial and economic activity and performing functions which now belong to the general department.

Let us agree today on this and we will try to abide by that common element in the staff structure.

The question of the Pioneer organization was raised in a session of the expanded sectors. The Central Council of the All-Union Pioneer Organization imeni V.I. Lenin has prepared proposals for radical restructuring of its activity. I think that the questions concerning Pioneer personnel should be taken up together with other matters when the question of the Pioneer organization is discussed.

Otherwise, plenums of Komsomol committees would be entitled to define the structure independently.

That portion of funds which becomes available might either be turned over to raykoms and primary organizations, or it might be used to establish a "personnel shortage" fund. That fund might be used to hire scientists, specialists, and consultants.

This approach has been supported by a majority of the first secretaries of Komsomol kraykoms and obkoms. We hope that it will also be supported by the plenum of the Central Committee.

9. On Oversight in Komsomol

Expansion of the independence of Komsomol organizations requires new approaches to oversight in Komsomol.

The present system of oversight is undemocratic. This is essentially departmental oversight, not social oversight of the staff nor of elective bodies.

Nor do the auditing commissions of Komsomol organizations altogether fulfill their duties under the bylaws.

The Bureau of the Komsomol Central Committee and the All-Union Komsomol Central Audit Commission deem it necessary that Komsomol members themselves be afforded the opportunity through the appropriate mechanisms to actually oversee the activity of elective Komsomol bodies and their staffs.

It is proposed that the audit commissions of Komsomol organizations be renamed oversight-audit commissions, that their functions, rights, and responsibility be broadened, and that they be assigned personnel.

If this approach is supported by the participants in the plenum, it might be put up for discussion in Komsomol and a new regulation on oversight and audit commissions of Komsomol organizations drafted according to its results and taken up in a plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee.

These bodies would be created at the lower level even during 1989 during reports and elections. Before the next Komsomol congress we will be able to gather and analyze the first experience, and at the congress we could complete the formation of a unified oversight system in Komsomol and make the necessary amendments in the Komsomol Bylaws.

10. On Membership in Komsomol

Membership in Komsomol has dropped from 42 to 36 million in the last 2.5 years. That trend is still continuing. Komsomol is going through a bad time, a kind of period of self-purification.

According to the data of a survey conducted by the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, nearly 60 percent of the young people not in the league who were surveyed expressed a desire to become Komsomol members. Why is this not happening? Some consider themselves unprepared. This is understandable. But one out of every three of those who do not enroll say that their applications have been under consideration too long, that there is a protracted wait for a Komsomol assembly, or that no one has suggested to them that they enroll in the league. And more than 40 percent declared that no one had even tried to explain to them the point of enrolling in Komsomol.

As you see, we are already dealing with a different trend, when enrollment in Komsomol is being held up artificially. But the reasons are still the same: bureaucracy, red tape, inattention to the individual, and the absence of an explanatory and promotion effort. So much information has been accumulated in the Komsomol Central Committee about disgraceful things in raykoms related to abstracting and delivery of Komsomol documents that the Bureau of the Komsomol Central Committee has had to intervene.

Another matter that has become painful is the condition of Komsomol recordkeeping. This mainly concerns those millions of Komsomol members who every year lose contact with their organization. The keeping of records on Komsomol members has to be improved. But this will never be a substitute for attention to the individual. The keeping of records is not just a technical matter by any means, and in no case can democratization be used as a pretext for paying less attention to it.

But surely those people are right who believe it necessary to achieve a responsible attitude on the part of Komsomol members themselves toward their membership in Komsomol. To that end, primary Komsomol organizations might be granted the right to decide to remove a Komsomol member from the rolls because he has lost contact with Komsomol at the end of 6 months after the departure of a Komsomol member if he did not have his name removed from the rolls and if his whereabouts cannot be determined.

It is also proposed that the primary organization have the right to decide on loss of contact with Komsomol of a Komsomol member who has not been on the rolls for his workplace or place of study for half a year.

Should these proposals be supported by participants in the plenum, the relevant corrections need to be made in the instruction entitled "On Procedure for Keeping Records of Komsomol Members and Issuing Komsomol Documents."

Today, voices are being raised more and more frequently in an appeal to be allowed what is referred to as "free retirement" from Komsomol. The motives vary widely—from the excessive formality of Komsomol as a whole to loss of faith in the capability of a particular Komsomol organization. While every Komsomol member should retain the right to file a declaration of termination of his membership in Komsomol, we feel that an identical approach should not always be taken to evaluating such requests. It is the task of Komsomol committees to go carefully into each individual case, to ascertain who is at fault—the Komsomol member or the organization, or, more accurately, its secretary or bureau. We need to fight for every young person and only after all possible weapons have been exhausted, should the decision be made in conformity with the Komsomol Bylaws.

There is nothing else that can be "devised." Komsomol is not a mutual aid society, nor an association organized around a hobby, but a sociopolitical organization in which "enrollment" and "withdrawal" are a politically and socially significant act.

The position cannot be taken that when one enrolls with consent of all members of the organization, one can leave whenever he pleases. That would precisely be an exceedingly flagrant violation of democracy.

It is another matter that the Komsomol Central Committee and youth editorial staffs are receiving quite a few letters from those who do not agree with the way decisions are worded, who feel, forgive me, that a policy is being imposed on them, while at the same time they are committing breaches of discipline within the league or are people who have entered Komsomol without really thinking about it.

In our view, when acts and requests of these kinds are taken up, the decision should be made on a strictly individual basis and the grounds for expulsion from Komsomol should be stated with maximum accuracy. This is the view of the Bureau of the Central Committee.

11. On Komsomol Personnel

First, two fundamental observations.

When the new mechanism of life within the league is mainly shaped, the meddling of the "center" removed, and the independence of organizations recognized, the ability of people elected to Komsomol positions or appointed, as in the case of staff personnel, to cover the area assigned them takes on decisive importance.

An organization is judged by what it does and by the people who represent it. In the years of restructuring, there has been a practically complete turnover of Komsomol personnel. Younger and more vigorous people have come from the very heart of young people. Sometimes they lack experience and knowledge, but, as they say, that will come with time.

I would like once again to steadfastly object to the groundless defamation of Komsomol personnel and aktivists in general. There are careerists and bureaucrats and red tape merchants among us. This is striking in a young people's environment. But there is not a whit more of them than in any other place, but rather considerably fewer in view of the elective system that has been established from bottom to top.

What we cannot agree to is that even a single person with a Komsomol badge who is not very honest can do such harm to the prestige of Komsomol in the eyes of young people that all our initiatives taken together will not restore it. And at the same time, the top-heavy operation in its previous form did not help to develop the best human qualities acquired over long years of working directly with young people.

This has to be remembered by all those who are deciding questions in the plenum concerning relations within the league.

And now as to the essence of the matter. Our task might be defined this way. To achieve a qualitative improvement of Komsomol personnel in all respects in the shortest period of time.

There are two main conditions for this. Guaranteeing the right of Komsomol organizations and Komsomol committees to elect people without restrictions except those envisaged by the bylaws.

And making the training and retraining of working personnel and the pool for promotion the principal method of the personnel work of Komsomol committees.

12. On More Thorough Restructuring of Personnel Work

What do we mean by thorough restructuring of the entire system of training in Komsomol?

First of all, the transition to continuing education of personnel and aktivists.

What is being proposed in this connection? First of all, changing the role of the center—the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee and its Higher Komsomol School, whose tasks would be to provide the conditions (both personnel and also scientific methods and financing) for the development of training in all organizations, for gradual establishment of self-education as the principal method whereby personnel master the theory and advanced know-how, preserving training at the center only for that pool of leadership personnel whose retraining and upgrading of qualifications are best done with the participation of the Komsomol Central Committee.

The Higher Komsomol School must become the head VUZ of the new type for scientific methods and training. Its priorities would be science, advance methods of training, the training of personnel on the basis of higher education in sociology, economics and management, psychology, journalism, the improvement of qualifications, including graduate study.

It is proposed that about 120 centers for teaching methods and Komsomol schools be opened in associations with those republic, kray, and oblast committees where they so far have not been created and that a network of various teaching subdivisions of gorkoms and raykoms be developed. That more vigorous use be made of cooperation with party and public organizations and government agencies to create a highly effective training system everywhere for personnel and the aktiv in all organizations.

The line of developing science concerning young people and Komsomol must be equally consistent. Unless its forecasting function is strengthened in conceptualizing

new phenomena and trends, unless its conclusions are applied in a planned way to the work of all personnel, we will not strengthen restructuring in practice.

You have in your hands detailed proposals on this question which have been approved in the Bureau. We believe that in view of today's discussion the Bureau of the Central Committee might be ordered to take the necessary decisions on them.

In presenting these proposals for discussion of the plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee, the Bureau of the Central Committee is relying on all members of central elective bodies to take a most active part in it, understanding fully their responsibility for the decisions taken, which essentially alter the internal laws by which our youth league has lived for several decades.

We have undertaken to reestablish the Leninist conception of the communist league and to retie the threads of the democratic traditions of Komsomol that were broken when the command-administrative system was established in our country. We are now taking the first steps in that direction, understanding that the organization's future depends on the accuracy and reliability of those steps. But Komsomol has a great future. We believe in that, and we are working for it.

Baklanov Visits Moscow Aircraft Plant
PM0512113188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "To Improve Aviation Equipment"]

[Text] The creation of new aircraft meeting modern demands and competing successfully with foreign ones is the most important task now being resolved by the country's aviation industry. Moscow's "Skorost" machine-building plant is one of those where advanced aviation equipment is being created: the well-known YAK-42 aircraft and its derivatives. O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited this enterprise on 1 December.

There was a detailed discussion of how to use the plant's great scientific and technical potential to increase the pace of development and creation of new aircraft and to improve the collective's work efficiency. There was talk of the need to enhance the responsibility of specialists and workers, to give them an economic interest by actively employing economically accountable relationships, and to assess the achievements of collectives and specific workers on the basis of the practical end result. Laggardness in developing a number of new machines was noted. The inadequate development of work on creating models of automatic machines for packaging loose products was noted during familiarization with the collective's contribution to resolving the Food Program. The plant has now been made responsible for producing 11 types of these automatic machines, and it is a matter of honor for the collective to resolve this task quickly and at a high technical standard.

In conversations with the leadership and with workers and specialists O.D. Baklanov inquired how restructuring is proceeding in the collective, how the work style of the party organization and other public organizations is changing, and what is the people's attitude toward events in the country. The plant's working people voiced support for the policy being implemented by the party and for the Central Committee November plenum decisions and evaluated positively the work of the extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet session.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary devoted special attention to the resolution of social and consumer problems in the plant. The attention of the management and of public organizations was drawn to shortcomings in resolving these vitally important questions. There are still long lines for housing, but poor use is being made of the plant's own resources to construct housing, and public catering problems have been exacerbated. The plant's party organization must call strictly to account those who fail to ensure proper conditions for the plant workers' labor and rest and take the necessary measures aimed at successfully fulfilling the tasks facing the collective.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied by I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; O.S. Belyakov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; A.S. Systsov, minister of the aviation industry; and other party and economic leaders.

Economic

***Silayev Urges Machine-Building Partnership**
WA18230012 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 20 Oct 88 p 1

[Report on interview with Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Bureau for Machine Building, by I. Ilimenko; date, place not given]

[Text] "Cooperative enterprises along with state enterprises are the basic unit of the country's national economic complex," said Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Chairman of the Bureau for Machine Building Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, at the beginning of a conversation with our correspondent. "The cooperative movement is growing and enterprisingness and economic inclinations are awakening in many people. According to the party will, the country has taken a decisive step toward the construction, as Lenin put it, of civilized cooperators. But a civilized cooperator does not come out of thin air. Through great efforts he wins a place in the sun for his engineering, machine building, or

other intellectual cooperative. But why, actually, must he win it! It is necessary to give him the opportunity to develop all of his talent, inventiveness, and ingenuity!"

"Literally yesterday a document came from the USSR Gossnab. They are sounding the alarm, saying that a significant proportion of the items that are small but necessary to the national economy have not been accepted by the enterprises for manufacture. We have already straightened out some of them. There are cases where the collectives have been given unrealistic figures. Today this will not do. If the labor collective council has not accepted it it is necessary to deal with this. But what will happen if the national economy does not receive certain items? What will take place? Will our mechanism become unbalanced? I do not think so. But, undoubtedly, difficulties will arise for certain enterprises.

"The question arises immediately: What will happen? Somewhere we will work with the collectives and the shortage will decrease. But it will not fully disappear. This means that the expenses will also remain. In principle this is also demand to which our enterprises should react. There should be competition for these items! And there will be. But what do we do now? Where do we turn? Abroad? But it is not economical to waste currency on the simplest items. This is why we have decided to turn to the cooperatives. We shall tell them about our position—we see them as our partners in solving such national economic problems. Something is already being done in this area. But it is necessary to motivate and enlist the entire cooperative movement."

[Ilimenko] And orient them also....

[Silayev] Of course. Orient them also. We must tell the cooperators where we need them. Let them choose. We cannot plan for them but we can motivate them. Right down to the incentives of the state order which can be filled out for products of which there is the greatest shortage. Then the cooperative will have a guaranteed portfolio of orders and guaranteed provision of material resources at state prices and for high-quality products at an even higher price as is envisioned by the provisions. In other words, we are offering our cooperative partners an alliance and a long-term program of joint actions.

[Ilimenko] Ivan Stepanovich, how do you envision this coming together in practice?

[Silayev] There are many cooperatives in the country. Therefore we must apparently have a group of individuals representing the interests of the machine-building cooperatives. For instance, an association. In order not to be looking for partners throughout the country. And we could sit down at the table with the association and discuss not only the items on our list but also future issues. Incidentally, I emphasize: we are not limiting the initiative to the given list. We can discuss, come to agreements, and sign an agreement and we would know that this list is closed. But they, in turn, will not be taking risks in finding materials. The majority of machine-building cooperatives work at state prices because they see an advantage in not increasing the cost of the items but in reducing their production cost. In this sense they have a colossal advantage: they do not have inflated staffs, and they do not have immense warehouses for storing all kinds of nonliquid assets. That is, through optimizing the structure and sharply cutting the production cost they stand to gain a great deal. Thus the organizer needs the same kind of association. In meeting with them we could make our request and they themselves after discussing it could decide whether or not they would satisfy it. With whom would we sign an agreement? Mainly with the direct plans for the products or, with our participation, with the USSR Gossnab and its territorial agencies.

[Ilimenko] Ivan Stepanovich, the list of items that have ended up outside the plan is significant. If it were simply published perhaps it would turn out that the machine-building cooperatives would strive in the direction of the high road of scientific and technical progress.

[Silayev] No, we would like for the cooperative movement to work in the area of machine building in the same direction and with the same priorities on which the efforts of all machine builders are concentrated. Here we would make suggestions, give direction, and give motivation....

[Ilimenko] Incidentally, let us recall the priorities once again.

[Silayev] Today priority is given primarily to agriculture: minor mechanization for farms, gardens, and orchards. Technical equipment for renters. Additionally there is processing, canning, and packaging equipment. Of course here not only prepared machines and sets of equipment are important but also original batching items. There is room for cooperators in electrical equipment, electronics, medical equipment, the production of consumer goods.... We do not have enough equipment or devices for housing, road construction.... All this is directly related to social programs, and the importance of the most rapid implementation of them was discussed at the 19th party congress.

[Ilimenko] But how do the cooperators themselves like the idea of the association?

[Silayev] It would be better to get the answer to this question from the cooperators themselves. As concerns my personal impressions, I can refer to the very fruitful conversations with many cooperators, including the manager of the Kiev cooperative, L. Lantsman. The Kiev workers are already working effectively in the area of machine building. With our support they have established contacts with the director of the Bolshevik Plant, V. Izvekov. The enterprise is overloaded. The cooperators have taken over some of the work. They have concluded an agreement and are working successfully.

They understand the idea of creating an association. The idea was supported by the cooperator Ye. Fedotov, who was engaged by the problem of small brick plants. There is not enough brick in the country. In Moscow a cooperative has appeared which has taken on the responsibility of delivering next year 50 (!) plants with a productivity of 5 million bricks a year. I met with the chairman. They are courageous and intelligent chaps. They utilize technical innovations which differ significantly from the classical plans.

I asked the chairman: What kind of help do you need? "The cooperation of interested people," he said. I signed a paper for him to go to the machine-building enterprises so that if possible they would render him assistance and support. I tried to put him in contact with enterprises of the Ministry of the Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building. They refused. Although they did conclude agreements for the manufacture of certain kinds of equipment. The rest was up to them. That is there is already a force with which we are prepared to cooperate and they with us. Sometimes through their regional organizations and sometimes through republic ones, and perhaps even through union organizations.... We will have to discuss it....

[Ilimenko] Ivan Stepanovich, can you guess the probability of concluding an agreement of including a representative of the future association in the Bureau for Machine Building? For example, for more effective participation in resolving pressing issues....

[Silayev] Is this really a matter of membership?! We are suggesting and are ourselves proceeding toward active cooperation. It is a matter of actual participation and not the form of its realization. It is useful cooperation in a concrete matter that determines the possible form of interaction between the association and the bureau, but in the interests of the matter and persistent and prolonged cooperation, why not invite to the meetings of the bureau representatives of the union and association of cooperators when discussing various issues regarding problems of machine building? I do not think that this should be ruled out, nor should membership in the bureau if it is necessary. I would like in the near future with the cooperation of the editors to convene the cooperators and discuss a range of problems facing the machine-building cooperatives and consult on how to utilize their energy and abilities most effectively for the good of the country.

[Ilimenko] I should like to return to a problem about which our newspaper has already written. In particular the problem of credit. The Zhilsotsbank, which is intended to finance cooperatives, offers two kinds of credit: for a year—for current expenditures, and for 2 years—for acquiring fixed capital. The Promstroybank gives credit only to state enterprises. Where is the machine-building cooperative to turn with its idea?

[Silayev] You are already anticipating questions which we could usefully discuss together. The banker also must understand: He has no guarantee that the state ruble will be used with advantage to the state. Here again I shall turn to the idea of an association. It is this that can act as a guarantor in relations between the cooperative and the bank. Moreover, it can act as the instituter, say, of a shareholding bank....

[Ilimenko] But will it not turn out that the association will become yet another bureaucratic superstructure....

[Silayev] World practice shows that in any serious movement an organizational foundation is formed: unions, associations. This is necessary. It is too disadvantageous to operate blindly—especially in such an immense country! Interrelations with the world are very complicated. The more so since we are speaking out about participation in solving any small mundane problems. We are speaking about a contribution to solving important and diverse social problems where talent, enterprisingness and inventiveness play a primary role in success. Multiply it by the scope of the cooperative movement—and it, I am convinced, will expand and become stronger—they are capable of becoming an appreciable force in balancing national economic needs. But I emphasize: the association is not ours, it is theirs, the cooperators', the agency with which we have equal rights and intend to cooperate as partners. And in all stages of the creation of the machine-building product—research, development, production, and operation.

[Ilimenko] But so far it is necessary to gather for consultation.... Do we newsmen have the right to turn to the leadership of all machine-building and engineering cooperatives of the country with the request to notify us of who is ready to participate in a large-scale conference like this?

[Silayev] We would be grateful to the editors for doing this. In turn, we shall give our address for communications: Moscow, 101830 Proyezd Serov, 5, All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Machine-Building Problems. Telephone 921-14-14.

The telephone number of the editorial office is 257-25-15.

Academician Primakov Opposes Regional 'Autarky'

PM0812091188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[Academician Ye. Primakov article: "Regional Economic Accountability: Experience and Problems"]

[Text] Restructuring and glasnost have laid bare many mistakes and shortcomings of the past in our country—in both the economic and political spheres. After the covering slogans were stripped away from the bureaucratic administrative mechanism it became crystal clear just how much needed to be done in order to eliminate

the economic tyranny exercised by departments, to free ourselves from excessive centralization in planning and the distribution of resources, and to expand the independence of local areas.

The departmental development of the economy also gave rise to serious ecological problems in the industrial centers of the Urals and the Transpolar region, to unrestricted influxes of manpower into Moscow and other centers as a temporary solution to narrow, sectorial production tasks, and to the Black Sea coastline being partitioned off by ministries.

The results of the departmental development of the economy are most acute in the republics. When, for instance, the question of siting productive sources was decided centrally without the agreement of local organs of power—and often contrary to their views—and without a properly skilled workforce in the area, it was seen in Siberia as a shortcoming or a mistake, while many people in the Baltic republics saw it as a consequence of stripping the republics of their autonomy or an attempt at deliberate Russification. Discontent is now also being caused by the fact that from the standpoint of local areas—and we are not just talking about national republics here, but about the Far East, for instance—the generally recognized shortcomings and failings linked with supercentralization and the persistence of departmentalism are not being eliminated quickly enough.

In this regard it is quite natural to have an extensive discussion about the questions of regional and territorial economic accountability [khozraschet]. In the most generalized form two criteria could clearly be formulated which should only determine approaches to this problem when taken together. First, the extent to which this economic accountability accords with the interests of developing certain regions or territories. Second, the extent to which it not only does not run counter to the economic and political interests of the entire country as a whole, but actually accords with them. The level to which specific ways and means of implementing regional and territorial economic accountability are considered part of world development determined by the demands of scientific and technical progress is of considerable importance.

Above all it should be said that most of the proposals, united by the concept of regional economic accountability, come within the general boundaries of the economic strategy of restructuring. These include the economic independence of enterprises, the strengthening of soviet power locally, incentives to highly productive profitmaking ventures rather than to "all and sundry," the rights of republics to use some of the profits made by all enterprises on their territory irrespective of the enterprises' departmental jurisdiction, and the strict linkage of production growth results to the pace and scale of social development in the region in question.

The implementation of all this is an urgent need. It implies the elimination of the deformations which in practice violated the interests of certain regions and republics. I think that, for instance, special budget payment discounts could promote the development of high-technology production in areas where there is a high proportion of skilled labor.

However, there should be a clear understanding of just what regional economic accountability entails: the expansion of regions' economic autonomy, the transfer to them of a considerable proportion of central organs' functions, and the finding of optimum forms for their relationship with central authorities? Or economic isolationism leading to disintegration and assuming the outlines of a kind of autarky?

The Baltic republics, for instance, are putting forward certain proposals which may be understandable from the emotional standpoint but are economically groundless. Take such extreme positions as the idea of introducing a republic currency, an autonomous credit and finance policy, customs barriers, exclusively republic ownership on its own territory, and even the adoption of immigration laws. I would particularly like to emphasize the idea that these proposals are virtually being presented as universally applicable to the entire USSR, as a kind of "decentralized model" for the development of the country's entire national economy.

Legitimate questions arise: Will these approaches unravel the vexed knot of pricing problems throughout our country, will they halt inflation, will they accelerate progressive structural changes, will they encourage scientific and technical progress? At the same time, will such a "decentralized" and essentially autarkic model promote the development and prosperity of the union republics themselves? A calm scientific analysis of all these questions leads us to reply in the negative.

Certain people see regional economic accountability as a transition to advantageous trade turnover among republics. However, all world experience convincingly shows that such trade turnover can only develop successfully on the basis of in-depth integration including scientific, technical, and production cooperation. Without such a basis, any transition to primarily trading relations between republics and regions will reduce our economy's receptiveness to scientific and technical progress, perhaps to an even greater extent than was the case during the period of the administrative-edict model.

The experience of the development of the European Community (EEC) countries is of considerable interest and very instructive. Of course, the West European states and the Soviet republics are fundamentally different both in terms of social systems and in terms of their economic and political relationships. At the same time, the USSR and the EEC are resolving largely similar tasks in the sphere of the restructuring of economies in line

with the present-day demands of the scientific and technical revolution, are comparable in terms of their economic and demographic potential, and are multinational formations.

There is a clear desire in the EEC countries to move toward further integration, and the EEC's transition to a qualitatively new stage—the creation of a single market by the end of 1992 and the gradual formation of an economic and currency union—has been outlined. Such a shift toward the formation of supranational structures has been dictated by objective factors. Modern productive forces require large economic scope with a single mechanism for regulating the economy and the ensuing opportunities for large-scale measures to stimulate scientific and technical progress.

This became particularly clear when the United States and Japan, which enjoy all these advantages, started squeezing out the still "insufficiently" integrated West Europe on an economic, scientific, and technical level. The realization of this was one of the incentives that led to a deepening of integration processes and the creation of supranational economic EEC mechanisms.

It was calculated that barriers between countries hindering the free movement of capital and labor, and the retention of economic "strip farming" (despite full currency convertibility) would cost the EEC countries a great deal of money—estimated at 6-7 percent of their GNP, or of the order of $210-250 billion. The EEC countries' "closed" national markets, the internal border controls on freight movements, the need to fill out numerous customs documents, and so forth entail additional costs of 5-10 percent on the price of goods. There should be no doubt that the implementation of the protectionist ideas of certain circles in our republics—much less the introduction of local currencies—would be no less costly for them and the USSR's other peoples.

A number of Baltic economists recognize the positive nature of the integration experience in the West, but state that their republics and our country's economy as a whole have not yet reached the level of West Europe, for instance. This view is absolutely without foundation, above all—as has already been noted—because of the general comparability of the levels of productive forces in our country and in West Europe, even though we make no secret of the fact that we lag behind considerably in a whole number of areas.

And the very thought that integration will only prove positive if all participants are at the same level of development is unproductive in itself. It should be recalled in this connection that not only those countries that are highly developed in scientific and technical terms—including so-called "small" countries which, as is well known, risk losing more of their independence than large countries—but also considerably less developed countries with an agricultural bias are resolute proponents of West European integration. Moreover, if the history of the creation of the "Common Market" in West Europe is analyzed retrospectively, one can conclude that, when it came to the crunch, centripetal forces have defeated centrifugal forces (which also existed). So are we supposed to close our eyes to experience that already exists and repeat everything rejected in West Europe and considered to be contradictory to its economic interests?

In this respect one could look at the experience of certain countries—multinational countries included—in the West with a federal setup. Probably the general trend for them is the growth in the autonomy of cantons, laender, states, provinces—in short, "local areas." But this trend is developing within a federal framework, while retaining and even strengthening a number of centralized functions and under no circumstances leading to the disintegration of the unified economic mechanism anywhere.

Take, for instance, multilingual Switzerland or the FRG. The Swiss cantons and the West German laender enjoy extensive autonomy and have their own governments, parliaments, and legislation. At the same time, the economy of each canton or land is not isolated from the rest of the country but is an integrated element in a unified economic organism. Enterprises are not built on a regional basis, but major industrial companies have subsidiaries in different regions. This makes it possible to take the greatest possible account of the interests of various national economic sectors and of the country's economy as a whole rather than being geared purely to the development of certain provinces. These countries use a statewide program in their economic policy. Funds are allocated from the country's federal budget to support various economic sectors, irrespective of the canton or land on which the enterprises in the corresponding sector are located.

The problem of the distribution of tax revenue in the central and local budgets is of fundamental importance in discussions between the supporters and opponents of "autarkic" regional economic accountability. Let us look at the FRG experience again. Value-added tax, which previously was wholly at the federation's disposal, is now distributed between the federation and the laender—the federal budget receives 65.6 percent, and laender receive 34.5 percent. This may be so, but, at the same time, the federation's share of other taxes has increased—its share of earned and unearned income tax has risen to 42.5 percent, and its share of corporation tax and capital yield tax has increased to 50 percent. Thus, for the FRG, along with other federal states in the West, the growth of income sources for local budgets has gone hand in hand with the centralization of state finances at the federal level, which creates great opportunities for state regulation of the economy.

One further important point—perhaps even the most important point—should be noted: The "autarkic" model of regional economic accountability is against the

economic interests of the republic and the USSR as a whole because it sharply restricts the opportunities for economic accountability and self-financing at the level of individual enterprises. In this respect this model is wholly incompatible with the restructuring of our country's economic mechanism as envisaged by the economic reform. Yet without all-union economic accountability at enterprise level it will be impossible to find the ideal place for each republic and region in the all-union division of labor.

Each market's isolation from each other inevitably impedes productivity growth and reduces enterprises' room for maneuver. With no opportunity for supplying their own means of production out of internal reserves and lacking sufficient foreign exchange to buy them on foreign markets (after all, the USSR receives 80 percent of its convertible currency from the sale of Siberian oil and gas), the republics are inevitably faced with a need to downgrade their industrial retooling programs.

The hopes pinned on extensive access to the world market are very problematic in this respect. Such a move would assume the existence of a large number of production facilities meeting world-market demands. In actual fact nothing of the sort exists. And competition on world markets is very fierce. For instance, in a number of West European countries there are even programs to compensate for the artificial suppression of agricultural production. Whereas the republics are banking on attracting foreign credit to develop high-technology industries, under the conditions of economic autarky it would be the republic itself that would have to repay that credit and the interest accruing. Here again the question of output sales—this time for foreign exchange—is raised in the most acute fashion.

Republics' rights—and that includes the economic sphere—can and should be expanded, and their relations with central authorities harmonized. Republics, it seems to me, should in particular be entitled to independently decide which industries to develop on their territories, whether to implement economic ties with other republics, whether to pursue an independent social, educational, and cultural policy, and whether to engage in border trade and set up free economic zones. There is extensive scope for creativity in this area.

At the same time, the excessive toughness of the positions and the failure to realize that the radical transformations taking place in the country are a long-term process rather than a one-shot action all do exceptional damage to the common cause of renewing and developing socialism and improving Soviet people's living standards.

A calm search for solutions and compromises is a vital necessity.

Gosstroy Chairman Explains Sale of Apartments

PM1312094188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosstroy, by unnamed PRAVDA correspondent under the "Aimed At Man" rubric: "Apartments for Sale"—date, place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Last week the CPSU Central Committee Politburo supported the government's proposal on the sale of apartments from the state and social housing stock to citizens as private property. The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution to that effect. Your PRAVDA correspondent asked Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosstroy, to comment on this resolution.

[Correspondent] The question of the sale of apartments to the population is not new—it has been up in the air, so to speak. PRAVDA's mailbag regularly contains suggestions of that kind. Such suggestions have been voiced by V. Nikitin from Perm, for example, M. Koshan from Derbent, and many others. What guided the government in its decision to meet the population's requests?

[Batalin] You are right, the sale of apartments into private ownership has been discussed before. The 19th all-union party conference also discussed it. The resolution must be viewed in the context of the measures aimed at resolving the housing problem in our country. Having set the task of providing every Soviet family with its own apartment or house by the year 2000, the Communist Party and our state developed an extensive action plan. Decisions have been made on increasing the volume of housing construction and strengthening its production base. Measures have been approved this year to develop individual and cooperative housing construction. This package of measures also includes the present USSR Council of Ministers resolution. The measures taken enable the population to actively participate in improving their housing conditions using their own labor and money.

[Correspondent] At first glance it seems strange—what is the advantage in buying your own apartment? Does anybody want to?

[Batalin] Quite a few people do, I think. It is no coincidence, as we have already noted, that people have persistently put forward such proposals. What is in it for them? A man who acquires an apartment as personal property can dispose of it as he wishes. Many people would like to leave their own well-appointed home to their children, grandchildren, or close relatives or simply give it to them. Others like being able to sell their

apartment so as to buy themselves another one somewhere else in the area or in a different city. In brief, the owner of an apartment has all the rights which the owner of an individual house enjoys.

Thus, the resolution is aimed at meeting citizens' interests more fully. It is important to note here that the proceeds from the sale of an apartment go into the budget of local soviets or into the social development fund of enterprises—as owners of departmental housing—and will be spent on the construction of apartment blocks and municipal facilities. Ultimately the population gain once more—through the rapid improvement of their housing conditions. And the state does not lose either. Private apartments will be better maintained and spending on the running and repair of apartment blocks will be reduced.

[Correspondent] What kind of apartments are planned for sale to the population?

[Batalin] People will be able to buy the apartments which they occupy in blocks belonging to local soviets, enterprises, or organizations. I would like to stress in particular that this only applies to those who want or intend to buy their apartment. There can be no compulsion. Those who want to will also be able to buy unoccupied apartments in blocks due for modernization or capital repair. Of course, the new owners will have to carry out the renovation of that housing by their own efforts or by agreement with state or cooperative construction organizations.

[Correspondent] Does that mean that apartments in new blocks will not be available for sale?

[Batalin] Yes, this is a categorical decision. It has been made to prevent any violation of the existing waiting list for improved housing. After all, if you begin selling accommodation in brand-new blocks, movement on the waiting list will slow down because people with considerable amounts of money will be able to obtain apartments before the rest. And that is a violation of social justice. It goes without saying that a family that has been given an apartment in a new block will also be able to own it in time in accordance with the established housing distribution procedure.

Incidentally, since we are talking about social justice, I would like to say that priority in the acquisition of uninhabited apartments in blocks due for modernization or capital repair is granted to those citizens who are on the list for improved housing conditions. Nor have we forgotten those who have been working in the far north for 10 years or more. They will be able to acquire as their own property unoccupied apartments in blocks of that kind anywhere in the country except Moscow, the Moscow region, Leningrad, the capitals of the union republics, and all-union or republic resorts.

So as to prevent private housing from being used as a source of unearned income it is established that a single family may occupy only one apartment or house.

[Correspondent] How is it planned to organize the sale of apartments to the population: Who will determine the value, and how?

[Batalin] When fixing the value of an apartment it is obviously necessary to take into account the type of building it is in, its location, the standard of its equipment, how modern its fittings are, and the state of repair of the building and the utilities. All this can be gauged only by an actual valuation of the property in question. The union republic councils of ministers have therefore been instructed to work with the relevant trade union organs in elaborating and approving a statute on the sale of apartments. In a number of cases they will clearly entrust the valuation of a specific apartment to the local soviets and their housing specialists or to the enterprises and organizations to which the departmental stock belongs.

[Correspondent] And what is the procedure for operating and servicing the apartments that have been sold?

[Batalin] That is also the prerogative of the union republic councils of ministers. The union government resolution lays down only the most general conditions. Owners pay for the maintenance and repair of their apartments and in so doing observe the standard regulations and norms for such work as established for apartment blocks belonging to the state housing stock. Heating and the supply of electricity, gas, water, and so forth are paid for at the rates that apply to the state housing stock.

Now for the servicing of apartments once they have been sold. Servicing is easier to organize, of course, when all the apartments in a block or on a single floor have been bought. Local soviets or the administrations of enterprises must work toward solutions of that kind. However, the most varied situations can occur in real life. It may be that there is just one apartment in a block, for instance. To make it easier to maintain privately owned housing it is recommended that an owners' association [tovarishchestvo] be set up to conclude a contract with the relevant organizations for the running of the block.

It should be stressed in particular that the servicing of privately owned apartments is the responsibility of the housing management organizations of local soviets and enterprises, with which the owners of private apartment conclude contracts. The resulting costs are borne entirely by the owners of these apartments.

[Correspondent] Clearly, far from everybody who would like to buy an apartment can find the entire sum at once. What should he do?

[Batalin] The government has provided for such an eventuality. The resolution also talks about the purchase of apartments by installments. The installment period is up to 10 years with an initial deposit of at least 50 percent of the price of the apartment. Local soviets and the labor collective councils of enterprises can allow large or poor families to pay a reduced initial deposit of 30 percent of the cost of the apartment with the remainder paid back over 15 years.

[Correspondent] Yuriy Petrovich, when will the sale of apartments to the population begin?

[Batalin] Clearly, it should begin without delay. But first, at the beginning of next year, the union republic councils of ministers, local soviets, and the leadership of enterprises owning departmental housing stock must quickly prepare the provisions and other documents regulating the procedure for the sale and servicing of apartments which are to be transferred into private ownership. This will clearly take 4-6 weeks.

The resolution in question will help people to resolve the important questions of their lives quickly and without delay. It is to be expected that this will play a positive role in implementing the housing program.

Agricultural

*Petrakov Speaks on Agriculture Workers Day

WA18240032 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 19 Nov 88 p 2

[Article by Ye. Petrakov: "Fuller Utilization of the APK's Potential"]

[Text] Our country has quite a few holidays devoted to the professions and occupations. But the day dedicated to workers in agriculture and the processing industry of the agro-industrial complex is special. It pertains to the most numerous worker contingent. Their affairs are closely followed by representatives of all occupations, be they melter foreman or miner, the engineer on an electric locomotive, or an operator in a chemical combine, a teacher, or someone serving in the military. After all, the country's food supply depends upon the work of those who raise and process the crops and animals.

Yesterday this was the topic at ceremonies held in Moscow dedicated to Farm Worker and Processing Industry Day. Outstanding raisers of crops and animals, specialists, organizers of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production, and representatives of enterprises and organizations in the branches of the agro-industrial complex came from all over the country to meet in the capital's State Central Concert Hall.

The presidium included Comrades Ye.K. Ligachev, V.P. Nikonov, O.D. Baklanov, USSR and RSFSR ministers, state committee chairmen, responsible officials of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers and of ministries and departments, winners in socialist competition and production innovators, and scientists.

The address was delivered by V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of USSR Gosagroprom.

Organized on the party's initiative and vigorously supported by the people, the revolutionary renewal of life, the speaker said in his address, is more and more liberating the driving forces of society, eliminating interference on the road to democracy, and elevating the individual. Efforts are under way on kolkhozes and sovkhozes and in processing enterprises toward a qualitative change of the productive forces and production relations. They are aimed at the speediest achievement of real results in solving the food problem—the most crucial problem of restructuring.

In the course of restructuring, the agro-industrial system has been gaining firmness and strength. The material and technical base is being bolstered. Fixed productive capital has grown in the years of the 5-year plan. It represents the most up-to-date technology and highly productive equipment, warehouses, housing, and many other things that will be in service for years.

The economic mechanism for the conduct of economic activity is undergoing adjustment and fine tuning. Relations are being refined between agriculture and the processing industry and among kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the enterprises that serve them.

The collective contract, family contract, and lease contract are being adopted more and more widely. The command-pressure methods of management are giving way to economic methods in which the selection and taking of economic decisions are determined by the interests of cost accounting (khozraschet).

The position of rayon agro-industrial associations and their status and rights are undergoing change. Rayon cooperative associations after the pattern of "Novomoskovskoye" in Tula Oblast are being formed on a democratic basis so as to include kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and processing and service enterprises.

There are already more than 120 agrocombines, more than 130 agro-industrial associations and firms, and more than 1,000 scientific-production and production systems are already operating in the country. Thanks to intersector cost accounting departmental interests are being erased in the integrated structures, the common responsibility of all participants in cooperation for the end result and for the high quality of the product produced is being established.

Construction of housing, roads, and facilities for commercial, municipal, and cultural services has been organized. In many oblasts of the Non-Chernozem Zone and Siberia, out-of-the-way and "unpromising" villages and settlements are coming to life. And there are quite a few regions where work collectives, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes have already become stable.

Gross agricultural output, according to calculations, will be larger than in 1987. There have been increased purchases of oilseed, vegetables, fruit and berries, and staple cotton. Larger sales of the products of animal husbandry have been made to the state. The growth rates of industry under USSR Gosagroprom have been rising. More meat and dairy products, confectionery goods, vegetable oil, canned fruit and vegetables, and other products have been produced.

The economic condition of farms and enterprises is shaping up better. In the agro-industrial complex as a whole, labor productivity has risen, profit has grown, and debt on loans from Gosbank has dropped substantially.

Graingrowers in Stavropol Kray and Rostov, Voronezh, Odessa, Poltava, and Nikolayev Oblasts and a number of other regions of the country have made a solid contribution to replenishing state grain resources.

There have been appreciable shifts in the increase of gross milk production per dairy cow by the dairy farmers in Ivanovo, Orel, Ryazan, Kharkov, and Chernigov Oblasts, as well as Lithuania and Belorussia, and larger meat production by kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Bryansk, Kaluga, Perm, Chita, Volyn, and Ternopol Oblasts, as well as in Kirghizia.

Encouraging changes for the better are outlined. But this movement can be speeded up if we eliminate our oversights and shortcomings, which restructuring and glasnost have shed a bright light on. Command-bureaucratic methods are proving difficult to eradicate in the organization of production, and frequently the independence of farms and enterprises is restricted. A substantial portion of managers and specialists are not using the rights granted them and are not showing initiative and enterprise. This burden from the past is holding back development of the agro-industrial complex. In many regions they still have not managed to substantially improve the supply of food to the public and to eliminate dislocations in the sale of meat, milk, and other produce.

Next year must be the year when we turn the corner in solving the food problem. It is time to reject once and for all dogmatic postulates that do not justify themselves and to create real conditions for the agricultural worker to manage production with full authority.

Fundamental solution of the food problem requires that the agro-industrial complex double and triple the growth rates of its output. This can be achieved only by improving production relations in agriculture. But the leading figures in many agro-industrial committees and associations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and processing enterprises are at present making little use of cost accounting, the price, and other categories of commodity-money relations and are still holding on to the old organizational structures. Quite often there is formalism in the introduction of progressive forms of production and remuneration, above all land leasing.

The recent meeting in the headquarters of the CPSU Central Committee with managers of farms and enterprises, leading figures in party committees, workers from collectives leasing land, and scientists and specialists, and the conference in Orel showed that the transition to leasing arrangements is the key to solving the food problem. This will yield a rapid and appreciable result without increasing material resources. The benefit is achieved exclusively through radical change in production relations.

Without the lease, and today this is quite obvious, the agricultural sector will not be able to achieve the necessary growth rates. But the leasing arrangement will not be able to make its way all on its own. An extensive organizational effort and full understanding of the need for the new approaches are needed here.

Creation of cooperative subdivisions within kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the creation of family farms deserve every kind of support. In agriculture, just like in other branches of the agro-industrial complex, there should be a variety of forms of production. This was proven by Lenin's agricultural theory and justified by the many years of building socialism as a practical matter in rural areas.

Along with adoption of the new economic methods, acceleration of the development of the agro-industrial complex depends directly on applying the advances of scientific-technical progress. It is becoming particularly important to apply intensive technologies. Even today we must learn to spend the large resources invested in them wisely. Quite often the outlays do not show a return in the growth of output. There are quite a few farms where the production cost is not dropping and labor productivity is not rising when intensive technologies are applied.

The principal attention of personnel in the agro-industrial complex must be concentrated on retooling and assimilation of new technologies in processing, transportation, and storage. It is common knowledge that we are losing on this basis a large amount of the products produced on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The material and technical base of these branches has proven to be neglected. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers have adopted a broad program to

speed up development of the material and technical base for processing, storage, and shipment of products. Other sectors of the economy, including the defense industry, have been called upon to manufacture the most up-to-date processing equipment for the processing branches.

The new economic mechanism for the conduct of economic activity and the improvement of the political system of our society are creating the conditions in which the workers of the agro-industrial complex can and should perform the tasks that have been set them.

Agricultural Developments for 5-11 Dec

LD1112052288 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 5-10 December. GMT times of broadcast are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

5-9 December—No fileworthy items monitored.

10 December—Krasnodar correspondent Vladimir Obraztsov reports on the flooding that has affected some 200,000 hectares of prime agricultural land, causing losses estimated at tens of millions of rubles, through inappropriate irrigation techniques and the continued use of heavy equipment—both of which cause a 20-cm impermeable layer to form on the surface, trapping the rainwater. The short term solution is to use special equipment to loosen the soil to a depth of 80 cm to boost its drainage capacity. Over the past 15 years, the area in Krasnodar Kray covered by these miniature lakes has tripled. Such inefficiency in the use of good farmland cannot be allowed to continue. (1200)

Scientific

PRAVDA Reports Launch of TV Relay Satellite

PM1312133988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "'Ekran' Launched"]

[Text] In line with the program for the further development of television broadcasting systems employing artificial earth satellites, another "Ekran" television broadcasting satellite was launched on 10 December 1988. It has onboard relay apparatus to broadcast Central Television programs in the 10-meter waveband to a network of receiving installations in collective use.

The "Ekran" satellite was launched by a "Proton" rocket into a near-stationary orbit with the following initial parameters:
distance from the earth's surface—35,455 km;
period of rotation around the earth—23 hours 39 minutes;
inclination of orbit—1.5 degrees.

The apparatus on the "Ekran" satellite is operating normally. The control and telemetry complex is controlling the satellite.

The satellite's television apparatus will be operated in accordance with the planned program.

French Space Experts Praise Joint Space Mission

LD1312235388 Moscow TASS in English 2239 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Paris December 14 TASS—At a news conference Tuesday heads of the French National Center for Space Research expressed deep satisfaction with the results of the two-week work in orbit of the Soviet-French crew and the results of the spacewalk carried out by Aleksandr Volkov and Jean-Loup Chretien.

Thanks to the venture outside the station of Volkov and Chretien, we have realized that operation of this kind is a very complex undertaking and calls for a long and thorough preparation, said Philippe Coillard, director of the Hermes programme which envisages the development by West European countries of a re-usable spacecraft by mid 90s. We should take into account the results of the spacewalk in preparing the flight of the Hermes spacecraft, which will take place approximately in 1997-1998, he said.

He specially noted the courage and resourcefullness of Aleksandr Volkov, stressing that the continuation of intricate experiments of great scientific value was made possible thanks to the well-coordinated actions of the Soviet and French cosmonauts.

Jean-Jacques Sucelle, director of the space center in Toulouse, who during the cosmonauts' walkout was at the flight control mission in Kaliningrad, told the news conference that despite complex work conditions, the cosmonauts coped with the task successfully.